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THOMAS PAINE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: HIS
REPUTATION IN AMERICA 1900-1970 AND AN
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY 1900-1970

Jerome Douglas Wilson

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

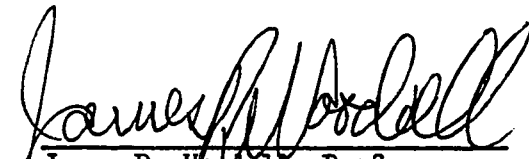
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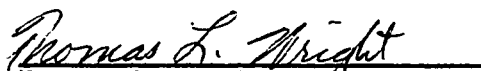
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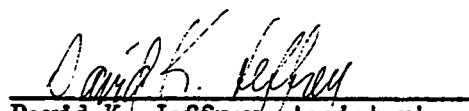
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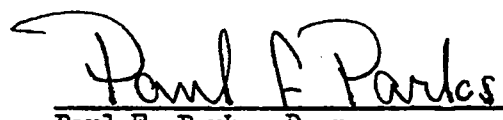

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VITA

Jerome Douglas Wilson, son of Douglas D. and Ruth (Moore) Wilson, was born in Gaffney, South Carolina, on May 19, 1938. He was educated in the public schools of Cherokee County, South Carolina. After being graduated from high school in 1956, he entered Lees-McRae College, Banner Elk, North Carolina, and received the Associate of Arts degree in June, 1958. He transferred to the University of South Carolina in September, 1958, and received the degree Bachelor of Arts in June, 1960, with a major in Secondary Education and a concentration in English. In June, 1961, he entered Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, and received the Master of Arts degree in August, 1963. He was employed as a teacher for four years in the public schools of Cherokee County, South Carolina, and for four years as Instructor of English at Anderson College, Anderson, South Carolina. In September, 1968, he entered Auburn University as a teaching assistant in English. He married Jane A., daughter of Clanton and Leona (Tate) Austell, in August, 1960, and has one daughter, Elizabeth Jane, eleven years of age.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

THOMAS PAINE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: HIS
REPUTATION IN AMERICA 1900-1970 AND AN
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY 1900-1970

Jerome Douglas Wilson

Doctor of Philosophy, December 8, 1972
(M.A., Appalachian State University, 1963)
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263 Typed Pages

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So thorough had been the work of a hostile Federalist press in blackening Thomas Paine's name during his last years that not until near the end of the nineteenth century did a resurgence of interest in the man and his work begin to occur. While the 1900-1920 period saw him bitterly denounced by the religiously orthodox and praised by ardent admirers, the overall tendency indicated that an increasingly tolerant view of Paine was being fostered in both the general public and in the academic community. Throughout the 1920's Paine's reputation continued to profit from new editions of his writings, the publication of the first of a series of "popular" biographies, and the appearance of several substantial critical studies. With its strong social consciousness, the temper of the 1930's proved to be especially congenial to the "Paine-as-rebel" thesis popularized by Gamaliel Bradford, and many critics modified earlier judgments to reflect this

now-popular view. During the turbulent 1942-1970 era Paine's position as a prominent and a respected figure in American literature was solidified by the numerous editions of his writings in both hard and soft covers, additional biographies, and several novels and dramas about him. Always favorably attended during wartime, Paine received much public notice in the press during World War II and the Korean Conflict, being touted as America's foremost patriot. At the same time, however, he was the subject of an ever increasing number of critical studies. Whereas in 1900 almost every consideration of Paine raised the old "infidel" spectre, either to affirm or refute it, writers in 1970 rarely gave serious consideration to it.

PREFACE

Neglected, held in abomination and disrepute throughout most of the nineteenth century, Thomas Paine--corset-maker, revolution-maker, nation-maker--today stands as a prominent figure in our national history and literature, a figure whose gilded statue overlooks the boulevards of Paris and whose bust occupies a special niche in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans. A close account of the resurgence of interest in Paine, a resurgence which began late in the nineteenth century and continued as the twentieth century unfolded, has never been given. When Professor Crane Brinton noted in 1937 that "the history of Paine's reputation is in itself worth a book,"¹ his call went virtually unheeded, and in the more than a century and a half since Paine's death no detailed effort has been made to assess his reputation by examining the large body of critical writing about him.

This study attempts, in part, to fulfill that need. Its basic purpose is to supplement existing Paine scholarship by (1) surveying criticism of Paine in print in the United States from January, 1900, through December, 1970, with specific attention to the trends in the course of Paine's reputation, and by (2) offering an annotated bibliography of Paine criticism published in America during that same period. Such a study is intended to serve as a guide to the critical and scholarly studies of Paine since January, 1900.

¹"Paine on a Pedestal," Saturday Review, 6 Feb. 1937, p. 7.

The textual section is divided into five chapter units, each devoted to a specific chronological period. A brief introductory background chapter offers a summary of the principal trends of Paine criticism up to 1900, and each of the four succeeding chapters examines the criticism produced in the periods 1900-1920, 1921-1929, 1930-1941, 1942-1970. These chapters are each structured in the following manner: (1) editions of Paine's works, (2) biographies, (3) other books, (4) pamphlets, periodicals, and accounts from the New York Times, (5) literary histories, works of literary criticism, and selected anthologies, (6) representative samplings of histories and works of political science.

It should be noted that compositions not primarily critical have been utilized in this study. A book or article primarily biographical rather than critical may reflect an interest that should be considered in a study of Paine's reputation. Nor has every examined item been included in these chapters, for the great volume of criticism produced after 1940 makes impractical a piece-by-piece examination throughout.

The annotated bibliography, which constitutes the second part of this study, is prefaced by a brief introduction explaining its method of organization.

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I. A BRIEF SURVEY OF PAINE'S REPUTATION

IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA: 1791-1899

Interest in Thomas Paine did not die when the man died; on the contrary, he became the subject of more controversy after his death than at any time during his life. After he wrote The Age of Reason, he was denounced as an infidel, a sot, an adulterer, and these accusations accumulated for generations. Even today the name "Thomas Paine" is likely in certain quarters to call forth visions of a tortured soul on his deathbed--hair on end, grasping a bottle. As Moncure Conway so aptly put it, "the educated ignorance concerning Paine is outstanding."¹ Mostly ignored by historians and treated perfunctorily by other than controversial writers, Paine did not elicit any great deal of objective notice until near the end of the century, at which time a number of reputable and respected scholars began to look at him in other than the traditionally accepted manner.

This introductory chapter will briefly survey the trends of the principal Paine criticism produced up to 1900 both in England and America. With this background established, we can more knowledgeably approach Paine in our own time and thus bring to better account the course of his reputation as it encounters the diverse movements of twentieth century thought in America.

¹Moncure D. Conway, Preface to The Life of Thomas Paine, 3rd. ed. (2 vols.; New York: Putnam's, 1893), I, xiv.

The first of many biographies of Paine was published in 1791 under the title The Life of Thomas Paine, the author of Rights of men. With a defence of his writings. By Francis Oldys, A. M., of the University of Pennsylvania. Since there is no record of a Francis Oldys ever having attended or having had any connection whatsoever with the University of Pennsylvania, it has been theorized, but never proved conclusively, that the elaborate pseudonym was contrived by one George Chalmers, a government clerk in the British council of trade, who was employed by the council president, Lord Hawkesbury, and through him paid £500 by Pitt's administration to write a Life that would undermine public confidence in Paine and his writings.² With government support and wide distribution, the book went through ten editions by 1793. While the title suggests that the work is to be a "defence" of Paine's work, it is actually a hostile and prejudiced account, closely analyzing Paine's grammatical mistakes and colored by party malice to such an extent that a later writer referred to it as "one of the most horrible collections of abuse which even that venal day produced."³ Although it is an unscrupulous attack, Oldys' book does have, as A. O. Aldridge has pointed out, a certain value.⁴ Oldys apparently made a careful and thorough investigation of Paine's

²In his biographical sketch of Paine in the Dictionary of National Biography, 1921 ed., Sir Leslie Stephen takes important notice of this and cites W. T. Sherwin as the original source of this information concerning Chalmers and Lord Hawkesbury.

³Conway, I, xxiii, attributes this statement to William Cobbett's biographer, Edward Smith, but does not document it.

⁴A. O. Aldridge, Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine (Philadelphia & New York: Lippincott, 1959), p. 9.

private life in order to give "an air of veracity to his fulminations,"⁵ and, apart from the few mentions Paine makes in his writing of his early life, nearly everything about his life before his emigration to America has its source in this book.

The next significant biographical account, James Cheetham's Life of Thomas Paine, appeared in 1809, the year of its subject's death. A vituperative and libelous account, Cheetham's work has been termed "the first muck-raking biography in American literature."⁶ A Manchester hatter by trade, Cheetham had immigrated to America and become editor of The American Citizen in New York City. At first friendly to Paine, he became his bitter enemy when Paine publicly denounced him for betraying the Jeffersonian party while his paper was enjoying its official patronage. Determined to strike back at Paine, Cheetham, gathering material for his notorious account, wrote to Joel Barlow, who had known Paine in Paris and who had, in fact, received from Paine's own hands Part I of The Age of Reason as its author was being spirited away to the Luxembourg. In response to Cheetham's inquiry, Barlow wrote that a true biography of Paine would show him ". . . as one of the most benevolent and disinterested of mankind, endowed with the clearest perception, an uncommon share of original genius, and the greatest breadth of thought," and it would rank him ". . . as he ought to be ranked, among the brightest and most undeviating luminaries of the age in which he lived."⁷ Barlow further advised Cheetham not to

⁵Ibid., p. 10.

⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁷Joel Barlow, Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, ed. Charles Burr Todd (New York & London: Putnam's, 1886), pp. 236-38.

undertake a biography at that time because readers would not be persuaded to view Paine in any other light than as a drunkard and a deist. If such a Life were written, he felt, it would only render the truth more obscure for future biographers. Since this was exactly what Cheetham desired, he plunged ahead with his work, bringing it to press shortly before Paine expired. The following brief extract from the work is indicative of the malicious nature of the whole:

Paine had no good qualities. Incapable of friendship, he was vain, envious, malignant; in France cowardly, and everywhere tyrannical. In his private dealings he was unjust, never thinking of paying for what he had contracted, and always cherishing deadly resentments against those who by law compelled him to do justice. To those who had been kind to him he was more than ungrateful. . . . He was guilty of the worst species of seduction; the alienation of a wife and children from a husband, and a father. Filthy and drunken, he was a compound of all the vices.⁸

These harsh judgments, born and nurtured though they were in personal enmity, have, to varying degrees, been applied to Paine down to the present day. Although Paine immediately instituted legal proceedings against Cheetham for the scandalous charges and insinuations which had been levied against him, death claimed him before the case came to trial. Madame Margaret Bonneville, the woman whom Cheetham had libelously referred to as Paine's mistress, carried on the suit, however, won it, and was awarded a judgment of \$150 by the court.

In 1814 an Englishman, Thomas "Clio" Rickman, published in London The Life of Thomas Paine. Generally conceded to be the most valuable of the early lives, Rickman's treatment of Paine, in marked contrast to that of Oldys and Cheetham, is sympathetic. Having known Paine

⁸James Cheetham, The Life of Thomas Paine (New York: Southwick and Pelsue, 1809), p. 313.

before his migration to America in 1774, Rickman welcomed Paine into his home upon his return to England; there Paine lived for several months and there he wrote the second part of Rights of Man. Unlike the dirty and drunken Paine of Cheetham's book, Rickman described Paine thus: ". . . in his dress and person he was generally very cleanly, and wore his hair cued, with side curls, and powdered, so that he looked altogether like a gentleman of the old French school. His manners were easy and gracious. . . ."9

The next biographer, William Cobbett, is interesting because he illustrates so well the fact that throughout the last decade of the eighteenth century and almost all of the nineteenth century there was very little balanced criticism of Paine: one was either a violent antagonist or one was a militant partisan. Cobbett was both. Having come to America in 1792, Cobbett, disgusted with the French revolutionary leaders, conceived a dislike for Paine because he associated him with those leaders. He read Oldys' scurrilous work and thereupon produced in 1797 a short biography of his own, mainly an abridgment of Oldys' Life, signing it with the pseudonym "Peter Porcupine." However, when Paine published The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance, Cobbett was filled with admiration, primarily because Paine's predictions and proposals buttressed so well his own convictions. Convinced that he had wronged Paine, Cobbett began to look upon him with more favor and, in time, became eloquent in his

⁹This short excerpt from Rickman's Life is quoted in the Library of Literary Criticism of English and American Authors, ed. C. W. Moulton (Buffalo, New York: Moulton Publishing Co., 1901-1905), IV, 532. Hereafter cited as LLC.

praise. In 1818 he announced his intention to write a life of Paine and negotiated with Madame Bonneville, who had also been preparing notes for a biography. For various reasons the work was never pushed to completion, and when Cobbett died in 1835 it remained an unfinished sketch; not until Moncure Conway printed it as an appendix to his Life did it see publication.

The years 1819 and 1820 saw the publication of two Paine biographies, neither being especially notable, however. William T. Sherwin in 1819 wrote Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Paine. Too young to be personally acquainted with Paine, he is said to have had the assistance of a political friend in the United States who sent him some Paine manuscripts.¹⁰ Richard Carlile, another Britisher, published in 1820 a Life of Thomas Paine, Written purposely to bind with his Writings. Although Harry Hayden Clark has referred to this as the best of the early lives after Rickman's, it is highly partisan, regarding Burke as a "viper" and John Adams as "puerile."¹¹

Feelings toward Paine continued to run high throughout the decade 1840-1850 and no lessening of the tendency toward extremism in criticism can be readily discerned. Whereas Elkanah Watson in 1842 printed a particularly unfavorable account of Paine in France, referring to him as "absolutely offensive" and having ". . . a dirty appearance and brimstone odor,"¹² Gilbert Vale, an American

¹⁰ Aldridge, p. 10.

¹¹ Thomas Paine: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes (New York: American Book, 1944), p. cxxviii.

¹² Winslow C. Watson, ed., Men and Times of the Revolution (New York: Dana and Co., 1856), p. 127.

Freethinker, in 1843 produced a Life which, while admirably researched, was overly sympathetic and impaired by prejudice in Paine's favor. A sterling example of the denigration to which Paine was subjected in the press of that day can be seen in an article in the North American Review of 1843.¹³ Ostensibly a lengthy survey of Paine's life and character, it set out, according to its author, to treat Paine with entire impartiality. However, the writer's true purpose--to blacken his character even further--soon emerged. After wading through page after page of rant and vituperation, one feels a sudden kinship to the unknown reader who long ago penciled "d---n lie" in the margin opposite a particularly vicious and untruthful accusation. The author admired nothing in Paine's life or character; The Age of Reason he held to be especially abominable. After terming it "the hornbook of vulgar infidelity,"¹⁴ a document too terrible to be quoted even, he noted that it "has passed utterly out of the world's thoughts, and we have a repugnance, not easily to be overcome, in bringing it to light again."¹⁵ However, this courageous writer managed to overcome his distaste to the extent that he was able to spend several pages quoting choice loathsome passages until finally ". . . our heart fails us, and though we had marked other and more impious passages than these for extracts, we can no further pollute our pages with such ribald blasphemy."¹⁶ Such was the treatment Paine received in the press.

¹³William B. Reed, "The Life and Character of Thomas Paine," North American Review, 57(1843), 1-58.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 50.

Not until fifty years after Paine's death did any consideration of his life and work evincing that degree of impartiality necessary for a valid evaluation of the man appear in print. In 1859 Sheldon Frederick published in the Atlantic Monthly three essays which dealt with Paine's role in the American war, his activities in England and his involvement in the French Revolution, and his last years in America.¹⁷ The most objective account up to that time, Frederick's articles indicate that he grasped the essential value of Paine's plain and commonsense style and that he was able to delineate objectively and at some length the issues of the Federalist and anti-Federalist factions in which Paine became involved when he returned to America. Only when Frederick turned to The Age of Reason did his impartiality fail him. In the manner of many of his fellow critics, he termed the work "a shallow deistical essay, in which the author's opinions are set forth . . . in a most offensive and irreverent style,"¹⁸ and advised the reader simply to forget this last phase of Paine's life, ". . . to forget the carbuncled nose, the snuffy waistcoat, the unorthodox sneer . . . to wipe out his later years, cut his life short at 1796. . . ."¹⁹

As the century approached and then passed the three-quarter mark, the tempest Darwin had stirred up in England continued to rage in America, raising great gales of controversy on the matter of religion. The Age of Reason was once more dragged to the forefront, to be praised

¹⁷"Thomas Paine's Second Appearance in the United States," Atlantic Monthly, 4(July 1859), 1-17; "Tom Paine's First Appearance in America," 4(Nov. 1859), 565-75; "Thomas Paine in England and in France," 4(Dec. 1859), 690-709.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 17.

by the devoted and abominated by the devout. Edwin P. Whipple, writing in American Literature and Other Papers, castigated Paine as ". . . the arch infidel . . . whom our early and later theologians have united in holding up as a monster of iniquity and unbelief."²⁰ Even James Parton, the biographer of Jefferson, wrote that ". . . I think his judgment must have been impaired before he could have consented to publish so inadequate a performance."²¹ At the same time, the small band of Paine-adherents were applauding Testimonials to the Merits of Thomas Paine, recently published in Boston.²²

The most vocal champion of Thomas Paine, however, was yet to make himself known. Emerging from the Civil War as a Colonel, later Attorney-General of Illinois, nationally known as an orator, distinguished and successful as a trial lawyer in New York, Robert G. Ingersoll, "the Great Agnostic," took up the torch of the Paine-followers and carried it flaming throughout the land until his death in 1899. An avowed enemy of the established church, Ingersoll in 1874 lectured on The Age of Reason,²³ claiming that it had done more to undermine the power of the Protestant church than all other books then known, that it "enabled somebody in every village to corner the parson," that it took power

²⁰Quoted in Moulton's LLC, p. 538.

²¹Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States (Boston: Osgood, 1874), pp. 591-92.

²²Joseph N. Moreau, comp., Testimonials to the Merits of Thomas Paine (Boston: J. P. Mendum, Office of the Boston Investigator, 1874).

²³This lecture first appeared in Ingersoll's The Gods and Other Lectures (New York: Farrell, 1874), and is reprinted in Ingersoll's Greatest Lectures (New York: Freethought Press, 1944), pp. 121-65.

from the pulpit and divided it among the pews."²⁴ Actually the lecture, though it does extol Paine, is a long harangue, denouncing the church for calumniating and slandering Paine, for shunning him and forgetting all his services. From June to November, 1877, Ingersoll waged a running battle with the New York Observer over the matter of Paine's last days.²⁵ Ingersoll offered a thousand dollars to anyone who could prove that Paine died in agony and fear, frightened by the clanking chains of devils, the view put forth by tracts and Sunday School books. The Observer then published a mass of personal testimony on the dissolute life and character of Paine, even equating his services during the Revolution with those of Benedict Arnold. Much of this "personal testimony" has subsequently been proved to be fraudulent or at best highly suspect.

While the last two decades of the century continued to bring forth both partisan and unfavorable estimations of Paine, the more influential journals and critical writers were slowly revising the traditional notions and approaching Paine with a more unbiased attitude. Too, the final decade of the century was to see the publication of the most scholarly work on Paine to date.

Whereas Sir Leslie Stephen in the first edition of his History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century had made numerous disparaging remarks about Paine, he publicly admitted his ignorance when Conway

²⁴Ingersoll's Greatest Lectures, p. 153.

²⁵Ingersoll's editorial letters and much of the Observer's material are cited in The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll (New York: Dresden, 1919), V, 447-524.

later pointed out his errors.²⁶ Furthermore, he altered the statements in the second edition of the work (1881) and later wrote for the DNB what is perhaps the best short biography available. O. B. Frothingham, like Stephen, also issued a retraction concerning statements he had made about Paine in Recollections and Impressions,²⁷ conceding that ". . . I never made a study of Paine. . . . Now my mistake is clear, and I am willing to stand in the cold with nothing on but a hair shirt."²⁸

Not all critics were so magnanimous, of course. Charles F. Richardson in 1887 wrote that "[The Age of Reason] is popular only with the lower classes, unable to perceive its cheap and unscholarly critical method and its vulgar temper."²⁹ Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon, compiling a textbook for use in secondary schools, called The Age of Reason a "shallow production" and accused Paine of being ignorant of the true character of the faith he attacked.³⁰ Perhaps the most famous disparagement, however, was that made by Theodore Roosevelt in his

²⁶History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1927), I, 458-64; II, 260-64. This is a reprint of the 1902 edition, in which Stephen stated in a footnote that he had been wrong in some assertions made in the 1876 edition and had revised his opinions of Paine since reading Conway.

²⁷Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890 (New York: Putnam's, 1891).

²⁸Frothingham's retraction is quoted by Conway in the Preface to his The Life of Thomas Paine, I, v.

²⁹American Literature, 1607-1885 (New York: Putnam's, 1887), I, 211.

³⁰American Literature: An Elementary textbook for use in high schools and academies by Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1891), p. 27.

biography of Gouverneur Morris.³¹ Because it was a judgment passed by such an eminent person, the phrase, "filthy little atheist,"³² attached itself so firmly to Paine that it has not been completely dislodged to this day. Seemingly with an ear to the political ground, Roosevelt went on to say that "Paine belonged to the variety [of infidels] that apparently esteemed a bladder of dirty water as the proper weapon with which to assail Christianity."³³ And finally, almost at the close of the tenth decade, Donald G. Mitchell, harking back to Oldys and Cheetham, would send Paine into the new century as a man ". . . jealous, morbid, crazed by his vanities--his clever mind at intervals blazing through the clouds and foulnesses which his own dissipations and selfish arrogance had created; dying at last, after long stages of drunkenness, and, as many report, with a nose as bloated as Bardolf's."³⁴

In concluding this survey of Paine's recognition in the nineteenth century, we must mention three publications which indicate that, in spite of the many hostile notices, there were scholars seeking to reduce the educated ignorance concerning Paine, to remove the tar and feathers which had so long been accumulating and subject him to the impartial scrutiny that any writer deserves. First, there is the valuable 1880 essay on Paine's role in the French Revolution by E. B. Washburne, a former American Minister to France.³⁵ A sensible and unbiased

³¹Gouverneur Morris (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891).

³²Ibid., p. 289.

³³Ibid., 289.

³⁴American Lands and Letters, Vol. I: The Mayflower to Rip Van Winkle (New York: Scribner's, 1897), 115.

³⁵"Thomas Paine and the French Revolution," Scribner's Monthly, Sept. 1880, pp. 771-86.

evaluation, it set aside at the outset the controversy over Paine's religious beliefs and personal habits and reviewed his involvement in French affairs from the early days of the Revolution until his release from prison in 1794. Second, there is Moncure D. Conway's The Life of Thomas Paine, the most thoroughly researched and documented biography of Paine to appear in the nineteenth century. Although most critics of the time criticized Conway for being overly sympathetic to his subject, they generally conceded that he proved conclusively that Paine has been greatly misunderstood and misjudged and that his services to this country have been understated. Third, and last, there is Moses Coit Tyler's The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783.³⁶ Highly respected in his own day, Tyler researched his sketch of Paine's life independently of Conway and his judgments appear to be as authoritative as any likely to be found. While he restricted his survey to the period of the Revolution, he regarded Paine's services as invaluable and termed him ". . . a leader born to lead," a leader with "language, which at times, was articulate thunder and lightning."³⁷ Reading Tyler leaves one with the impression that the ultimate success of the American patriots during those trying times was due in no small measure to the unflagging and unselfish efforts of the author of Common Sense and The Crisis, documents which had been pushed out of the public consciousness in the nineteenth century turmoil over the controversial Age of Reason.

³⁶The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783, 2 vols. (New York: Putnam's, 1898), I, 451-74; II, 35-49.

³⁷Ibid., II, 42.

II. PAINE AND PROGRESSIVISM: 1900-1920

Biographies and General Subject Books

In 1886 John E. Remsburg, a well-known and widely-traveled writer and lecturer on behalf of Freethought and state secularization, had delivered the keynote address before the Tenth Annual Congress of the American Secular Union in New York. The subject of this address was the common bond that united Paine, Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Lincoln, and Grant--all were Freethinkers and all had in common a disbelief in Christianity. Out of the speech grew Remsburg's book Six Historic Americans, published in 1906. In this highly partisan work, Remsburg utilized Paine primarily as an example of a personality who had suffered at the hands of the church in order to launch his own salvos, attacks which he hoped would help to bring about the destruction of priestcraft, the worldwide renunciation of church dogma, and a universal denunciation of the divine nature of the Bible. The book, or at least the chapter devoted to Paine, cannot be characterized as an attempt at scholarship. Such fanciful writing as "slowly the angels of Justice are rolling back these stones [of obloquy] from his sepulcher, and the resurrection of Thomas Paine is at hand"¹ is indicative of the essentially uncritical nature of the whole and exhibits, too, the tendency to set up a new divinity while still engaged in pulling down the old one.

¹Six Historic Americans (New York: Truth Seeker, [1906]), p. vii.

On the other hand, I. W. Riley, a Johns Hopkins Research Scholar, offered the following year a carefully researched and documented study of the early schools of American philosophy in which he appraised Paine in relation to the deistic movement.² Dealing with Paine in chapter vii, "Popular Deism," Riley referred to The Age of Reason as having "marked high water in the deistic movement, being carried up on the wave of enthusiasm caused by the author's revolutionary pamphlets. . . ." At the same time, however, he took issue with Conway, who had regarded Paine's "reason" only as an expansion of the Quaker's inner light; Riley maintained that it might better be called "a mere reflection of current deism." Expanding this statement, he deprecated any idea of originality in Paine's deism: "The book [Age of Reason] is anything but original. With the exception of a phrase or two . . . there is not an idea in it which cannot be matched in the writings of the English freethinkers of the Georgian era. . . . Paine simply repeats, in the language of the streets, the arguments of Collins against prophecy, of Woolston against miracles, of Tindal against revelation, of Morgan against the Old Testament, of Chubb against Christian morality." While he conceded that Paine did have much in common with George Fox, Riley could never regard him, as Conway did, as Fox's spiritual successor. "He had some of the light, but none of the sweetness of that persuasion. He talks as if his inner spark were a beacon . . .," Riley concluded.³

²American Philosophy: The Early Schools (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907), pp. 296-304.

³Ibid., pp. 297-99.

The principal Paine work of 1908 was the ten-volume Life and Writings of Thomas Paine, edited and annotated by Daniel E. Wheeler.⁴ The Life (volume I of the set) contained Rickman's biography, Erskine's defense of Paine, and appreciative essays by Paul Desjardins, Leslie Stephen, R. G. Ingersoll, Elbert Hubbard, and Marilla M. Ricker. Of the several essays only those of Desjardins and Stephen merit more than passing mention. While Desjardins constructed a more or less biographical account, his particular approach was through a consideration of Paine as the father of republics. He regarded Paine as the chief individual who had transplanted the idea of a republic from England to America, from America to France, and from the order of religious doctrines to the order of secular facts.⁵ Stephen made an interesting point in the conclusion of his essay, "Paine in the Revolutionary Period." He stated that Paine was "by nature a man of science, who imagines, the method of Euclid to be applicable to all topics of speculation, and so falls in love with a good mathematical axiom that he despises the trifling difficulty of applying it to concrete facts."⁶ "A Square Deal," the generally biographical essay by Marilla Ricker, can be discounted because of the effusive praise which she so uncritically heaped upon her subject. While such rhapsodies as "He gave his services as the night gives its dew, as the flower gives its perfume, as the sun gives its light,"⁷ may have

⁴Life and Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. and annotated by Daniel Edwin Wheeler, 10 vols. (New York: Vincent Parke, 1908).

⁵Ibid., I, 201.

⁶Ibid., p. 286.

⁷Ibid., p. 357.

sounded eloquent to the uncritical reader, they contributed nothing worthwhile to the body of Paine scholarship.

John J. Conway devoted a chapter to Paine in Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris, published in 1912.⁸ While he mainly summarized Paine's Paris years, Conway notably refrained from any reference to excessive drinking by Paine during these years, a charge frequently levelled by less scrupulous critics. He factually recounted Paine's journey to France with John Laurens during the war, his return to promote the iron bridge, and the subsequent course of events leading to imprisonment. A straightforward but rather cursory account of a significant period in Paine's career, Conway's survey made no sweeping judgments and exhibited none of the partisanship common in much of the criticism of the period.

Two books in the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge series were published in America in 1913, and in both Paine's contributions to the development of freedom of thought was considered. Chapter vii of John B. Bury's A History of Freedom of Thought dealt with Paine in relation to the growth of rationalism. He attached a three-fold significance to The Age of Reason: (1) as the first English publication in which the Christian scheme of salvation and the Bible were assailed in plain language without disguise or reserve; (2) as a document written in such a way as to reach the masses; (3) as the first forceful presentation of the incongruity of the Christian scheme with the

⁸Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris (New York: John Lane, 1912), pp. 39-47.

conception of the universe attained by astronomical science.⁹ The companion volume, Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle, by H. N. Brailsford, devoted chapter ii entirely to Paine. Having briefly summarized Paine's literary career, Brailsford then examined in some detail his theory of government, stating that Paine conceived of government as the instrument of the social conscience and the "means of securing a better organized society."¹⁰

In 1916, J. E. Rensburg, that eloquent Paine spokesman already mentioned, had delivered himself of a highly partisan address in Chicago which the following year he expanded and published under the title Thomas Paine: The Apostle of Liberty. Equating his subject at the outset with Washington and Lincoln as "the creator, the Defender and Savior of our Republic,"¹¹ Rensburg proceeded to churn out page after page of some of the most turgid and purple prose imaginable. Exhibiting an inordinate fondness for blood-and-gore imagery, he viewed himself "as Rizpah [who] stood by the bodies of her murdered sons, keeping back the birds of prey, so will I stand by the memory of this good man and drive back the foul vultures that feast their greedy selves and feed their starving broods on dead men's characters."¹² When he recounted Paine's years in France, Rensburg wrote with obvious relish of the death

⁹ A History of Freedom of Thought, Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 69 (New York: Henry Holt, 1913), p. 71.

¹⁰ Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle, Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 75 (New York: Henry Holt, 1913), pp. 56-77.

¹¹ Thomas Paine: The Apostle of Liberty (New York: Truth Seeker, 1917), p. 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

tumbrils, the decapitated bodies, the shrieks and groans, the guiltine--"that blood-stained instrument, to whose edges still cling the straggling hairs of its victims, the golden threads of youth mingled with the silver threads of age."¹³ However, not until he set before himself the task of recounting Paine's death did he marshal all his rhetorical forces in one great final descriptive onslaught. Its effect is lost in abridgment; it must be quoted in its entirety:

Yes, death came. But with it came no fears. No banished Hagar with famishing infant haunted him; from the desolate ruins of those Midianite homes came no phantoms to strike his soul with terror; no Urian's ghost stood before his bedside and would not down; the hand that with no weapon but the pen had made priests and monarchs tremble, now growing cold and pallid, was not stained with the blood of a wife or child; no agonizing shrieks of a burning Servetus rang in his dying ears. Tempestuous as life's voyages had been, the old man reached his port in peace. Nature, whom he had deified, fondly and pityingly held him in her all-embracing arms, and soothed him in that last sad hour as with a mother's love. The morning sun looked kindly down and kissed his throbbing temples; gentle breezes, fragrant with the odors of a thousand roses, fanned his fevered brow; joyous birds, whose songs he loved so well, came to his window and sang their cheeriest notes; while faithful friends were at his bedside, ministering to every want. And so, bravely and peacefully, with that serenity of soul which only the consciousness of a well-spent life can give, the grand old patriot passed away.¹⁴

That effort apparently drained the writer's well-springs of creativity, for he devoted the remainder of the book to a listing of more than five hundred quotations, all of them in praise of Paine and drawn from every conceivable source--encyclopedias, dictionaries, historians, divines, biographers, etc. In the concluding pages Remsburg revived sufficiently to fire a final salvo at the church,

¹³Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 213.

whose ministers he envisioned as imps spawned by bigotry, imps whose sole task was to cover the name of Paine with "all the slime that the venomous spirit of calumny has distilled."¹⁵ It is small wonder that, with appreciations such as this spewing forth with any regularity, Paine's reputation among many scholars and the more critical reading public remained at such a low ebb long after the religious issues had ceased to be important.

A chatty, rather rambling account of Paine appeared in 1917 in Anna Alice Chapin's book Greenwich Village. Although Paine lived only a short time there, the author noted that "he is none the less an essential part of Greenwich; his illustrious memory is so signal a source of pride to the neighborhood, his personality seems still so vigorously present, that his life and acts must have a place there, too."¹⁶ One interesting fact brought out by Miss Chapin was that the Commissioners replanning New York decided to pay Paine's memory a compliment and name a newly opened street Reason Street, for The Age of Reason; "this was objected to . . . and some tactful diplomat suggested giving it the French twist--Raison Street. . . . Even this was too closely suggestive of Tom Paine, 'the infidel,' so it was shamelessly corrupted to Raisin!"¹⁷

Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Newspaper Accounts

The first notice taken of Paine in the twentieth century was a review in the year 1900 of Ellery Sedgwick's biography, which had

¹⁵Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁶Greenwich Village (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1917), p. 145.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 168-69.

appeared in 1899. The anonymous reviewer commended Sedgwick for his intelligent treatment of the religious writings of Paine and noted that he had brought to his task "a more judicious temper than that maintained by any of Paine's better-known biographers heretofore."¹⁸

The following year a significant essay on Paine's political philosophy appeared in the University of Nebraska Graduate Bulletin.¹⁹ An abridgment of part of a master's thesis, this article established five general principles regarding Revolutionary thought and used them as a standard against which to measure Paine's philosophy. Although the author presented very little comment or criticism, his topically-arranged and fully-documented study showed that Paine agreed with his contemporaries regarding such matters as the nature and origin of rights, the origin and purpose of the state, and the rights of the individual under the state. A brief but sympathetic appraisal was made by R. R. Wilson in 1901. Writing in The Bookman, Wilson recounted Paine's life in America and laid stress on his financial sacrifices, the scant rewards he received, and the cold-shoulder treatment given him in his last years. The Age of Reason he praised as a work "which remains of all epoch-making books the one most persistently misquoted and misunderstood," and he attributed its bad reception to a "spirit of narrow and militant bigotry."²⁰

¹⁸ Review of Thomas Paine, by Ellery Sedgwick, in The Nation, 70 (1900), 186.

¹⁹ Clark E. Persinger, "The Political Philosophy of Thomas Paine," Univ. of Nebraska Graduate Bulletin, 7th series (July 1901), pp. 54-74.

²⁰ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, "Foreign Authors in America," Bookman, 12(1901), 499.

The next mention of Paine occurred in the monthly journal The Critic in 1902. This illustrated article, only partially devoted to Paine, reproduced the Jarvis portrait, the monument at New Rochelle, and the Lewes seal. Primarily a description of landmarks, the text emphasized Paine's unpopularity during his last years and commented on his monument: ". . . on this spot, where no rest had been permitted him in life or in death, it seems rather to mock than to bless his grave."²¹

The fanatic fringe, which was always to champion Paine vocally, made itself known in a published address by L. K. Washburn in 1903.²² Heavily biased and superficial in the extreme, the thirteen-page speech attempted to praise Paine while ridiculing the established church. While Washburn tried to employ Paine's technique, his penultimate assertion that Jesus was "not what he has been cracked up to be," indicated that, while indeed he did have his master's fervor, he most definitely did not have his talent. By the end of the essay Paine had almost assumed the mantle of divinity which Washburn had so ruthlessly torn from the shoulders of Christ: "Paine came to abolish the evils, the wrongs, the superstitions which Jesus upheld and helped to perpetuate"; to Washburn he was the bringer of peace, equality, liberty; whereas Jesus was a fraud, a warmonger.²³

²¹Charles Hemstreet, "Literary Landmarks of New York," Critic, 41(1902), 340.

²²L[emuel] K[elley] Washburn, Jesus and Paine (Boston: Boston Investigator Co., 1903).

²³Ibid., pp. 4, 11.

Tangible evidence of the spreading liberal attitude in America is nowhere better illustrated than in the placement of Paine's bust in Independence Hall in 1905. The bust had been subscribed to by such eminent persons as Edward Everett Hale and Congressman George W. Julian and sculpted in 1876 by the Freethinker Sydney H. Morse, but it was then refused a niche in the historic hall because of Paine's alleged infidel character. Not until 1905 did Mrs. Carrie B. Kilgore succeed in persuading the city of Philadelphia to accept the bust. A short article in Current Literature noted that the city of New Rochelle had also relented and officially accepted the Paine monument, which had hitherto been cared for by the Freethinkers. These actions the anonymous writer found indicative of a growing religious tolerance "as well as of the prevalence of a higher estimate of Paine than was formerly held."²⁴

A few months later John McGovern compared Paine and Franklin in an article for the National Magazine, referring to them as "two of the great heroes of the Revolutionary period in America, whose birth anniversaries fall in this month. . . ."²⁵

In 1909 a celebration was held of the hundredth anniversary of Paine's death, and in the same year, in connection with that celebration, short estimates of the author were published in two widely circulated American journals. In June Harper's Weekly carried a short biographical

²⁴"A Rehabilitation of Thomas Paine," Current Literature, 39(1905), 521-22.

²⁵"Ben Franklin and Tom Paine," National Magazine, 23(1906), 426-30.

account of Paine.²⁶ The tone of the article was established at the outset as sympathetic: "It is unfortunate that Paine, who was one of the most ardent and inspiring of the Revolutionary patriots, should be known at the present day among large numbers of our population mainly as the stock 'horrible example' of an atheist whose deathbed was made fearful by visions of eternal torture." The author attempted to mitigate the long established hostility aroused by The Age of Reason by pointing out that in Paine's day "no compromise was possible between belief in the verbal inspiration of the scriptures and the fashionable Deistic-atheism of the elect," that his work had come long before the Higher Criticism and the work of Darwin had begun the "subtle sapping of religious ramparts."²⁷

Several months later there appeared in Current Literature a brief article which assessed the current conflicting estimates of Paine. The anonymous writer pointed out a recent article in Blackwood's Magazine which was notably hostile and bitter, and made the point that this article was singular by reason of its isolation, the greater part of the commentary elicited by the Paine centenary being laudatory. He concluded by stating that indications were that Paine's reputation and influence were steadily improving: new editions of his writings were being published and his home was being made into a museum.²⁸

²⁶Henry Paradyne, "A Misunderstood Patriot," Harper's Weekly, 5 June 1909, p. 15.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"Conflicting Estimates of Thomas Paine," Current Literature, 47(1909), 535-36.

The memorial celebration itself was held on June 5, 1909, at the Paine monument in New Rochelle. Under lowering skies speeches were delivered by Prof. Thaddeus B. Wakeman ("Paine, the Pioneer of International Peace"), Rev. Thomas R. Slicer ("Thomas Paine as the Devotee of Liberty"), D. S. Muzzey ("Paine as a Prophet of Democracy"), and the ubiquitous Elbert Hubbard ("Paine, the Apostle of Universal Brotherhood"). These encomia were gathered and printed as a thirty-page pamphlet by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association.²⁹ It should perhaps be mentioned at this point that the Association had been organized and incorporated in 1906 with M. D. Conway as its first president. The Memorial Celebration pamphlet informed the reader that the object of the Association was "to collect and preserve relics of Paine, and books contributing facts about Paine to increase the public's knowledge and appreciation of the value of Paine's works, by meetings and publications."³⁰

William M. Van der Weyde in the same year published an article entitled "Paine--Roosevelt--Morris" in The Truth Seeker,³¹ the first of a series of published blasts which were to prove that Van der Weyde must have regarded "taking Teddy to task" as a part of his chosen mission in

²⁹Memorial Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Paine (New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1909).

³⁰Ibid., p. 4.

³¹This published article (9 Oct. 1909), together with a companion piece, "Roosevelt's Slander of Thomas Paine" (21 Aug. 1921), was clipped from the journal, pasted onto blank leaves, bound as a sixteen-page pamphlet, and presented to the Library of Congress as a gift by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association in 1921, bearing the title Roosevelt's Withdrawn Slander of Paine.

life. After quoting the offensive paragraph in Roosevelt's biography of Morris, Van der Weyde pointed out various inconsistencies in the work and concluded by saying that Roosevelt, though he had had opportunities to acknowledge his errors, would not do so: "Roosevelt, always stubborn, never willing to acknowledge a mistake, ever obstinate in sticking to anything he has said or written, maintains the silence of a Sphinx."³²

Concerning Paine criticism, 1910 proved to be a fairly fruitful year. While the preceding citations seem to indicate that Paine was enjoying a rehabilitation of sorts, the old hostility had by no means ceased to make itself heard. Two articles which illustrate this appeared in the February and March issues of the Outlook, a journal heavily influenced by the presence of Theodore Roosevelt, a contributing editor who did, in fact, contribute heavily to the publication. Roosevelt's opinion of Paine remained unchanged, for the former President's judgments, once delivered, were held with a steadfast intractability--much to the chagrin of Paine-adherents such as Van der Weyde. It is therefore understandable that Outlook should present a biased view of Paine. The first article, anonymously written, set forth the reasons why this liberal paper was unable to commemorate Paine's centenary. Rather patronizing in tone, the article exhibited only derision toward an author who, it deemed, had "made no attempts to understand either the Bible or the reasons why it had for ages been regarded with veneration."³³ A follow-up article answered those readers who had

³²Ibid., p. 4.

³³"Thomas Paine," Outlook, 94(1910), 334-35.

written letters protesting the stand taken in regard to Paine. Renewing the attack on The Age of Reason, the still unknown writer censured Paine for having written the work without having before him a copy of the Bible for reference, a situation which he considered "an audacity of ignorance." The final judgment made in the article was that it was no longer necessary to read Paine now that so much better Biblical criticism was available. Ewald, Wines, and Renan were cited as examples. In spite of his avowal that his judgments were based on "a fairly intimate acquaintance" with Paine's writing, the writer overlooked the fact that Paine wrote for the common man, and that this reader would neither understand nor appreciate the modern Biblical scholars whom he had cited.³⁴

A scholarly and well-documented essay by Albert Matthews published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society had as its thesis the argument that Paine had no part in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and that his influence on its final form was negligible.³⁵ His primary purpose, to refute Conway's claims concerning the authorship of the excised anti-slavery clause, he accomplished by a close examination of Conway's statements in order to prove him guilty of begging the question. He noted that Jefferson claimed sole authorship and that he "'turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it."³⁶ Nor, he concluded, was there anything

³⁴"Thomas Paine," Outlook, 94(1910), 608.

³⁵"Thomas Paine and the Declaration of Independence," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 43(1910), 241-53.

³⁶Ibid., p. 250.

in Paine's own writings that substantiated the notion that he had authored the clause.

The final Paine article to appear in 1910 issued from the pen of W. M. Van der Weyde, at that time something of a wheelhorse in the very active Paine Historical Association. Although an ardent champion of Paine, the author dealt with Paine's last years in America in a surprisingly restrained and objective manner, suffering only occasional lapses into encomiastic phraseology. His explanation of the general reception accorded The Age of Reason was very similar to that given by Paradyne, both making essentially the same points regarding religious and scientific thought during Paine's century and the Higher Criticism in the present day. One interesting bit of irony that Van der Weyde took note of was that Paine had been jeered and refused a seat on the stagecoach in Trenton, New Jersey. This was the same Trenton which had been the scene of a decisive battle in the war twenty-seven years earlier, a battle which the Americans might well have lost had not Paine's Crisis paper given them the determination and courage to persevere.³⁷

The following year Van der Weyde, through the auspices of the Paine Historical Association, issued a slight pamphlet entitled Who Wrote the Declaration of Independence? Seemingly in answer to Matthews' essay of the preceding year, this attempt was neither scholarly nor convincing. Van der Weyde attempted to prove that Paine was the real author by listing all the persons who agreed that Jefferson had been mistakenly given laurels that properly belonged to Paine and then by

³⁷"Thomas Paine's Last Days in New York," Americana, 5(1910), 906.

stating that much internal and external evidence existed that Paine was the writer. Briefly put, his points of evidence were these: (1) The original draft of the Declaration has the word "hath"; while Jefferson never used this word, Paine used it frequently. (2) Use of the phrase "Scotch and foreign mercenaries"; Jefferson, being born in America, would have said "Scotch and other mercenaries"; Paine as a matter of habit would not think of the Scotch as foreign. (3) Jefferson would not have referred to the slave trade as "an assemblage of horrors" and "execrable commerce" since he owned slaves himself. (4) The draft makes little mention of taxation; Jefferson believed it to be of the greatest concern, but Paine held it to be of minor importance.³⁸ Unfortunately, this evidence thus marshalled was not supported by any documentation or other evidence of research outside the Declaration itself.

A somewhat puzzling view of Paine was offered by Ernest C. Moses in the same year. Writing in Americana, Moses proposed at the outset to arrive at a "fair estimate of the real Thomas Paine."³⁹ He proceeded to praise Paine as a "man of unusual perseverance and courage," a man who had a wonderful perception of the indestructible facts which should govern humanity," . . . "one of the most generous patriots and liberal thinkers of that period of history."⁴⁰ Obviously sharing the sentiments expressed in Rights of Man and Paine's patriotic writings, Moses

³⁸ Who Wrote the Declaration of Independence? (East Aurora, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1911), pp. 4-7.

³⁹ "Was Thomas Paine Infidel at Heart," Americana, 7(1912), 641.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 642, 643.

emphatically wrote that Paine was "a man of great genius and the memory of his political services should always be held in high esteem by our people." When the author turned to consider Paine's religious writings, however, he abruptly discarded his benign mask and declared that "the one glaring fault of Thomas Paine was an intemperate radicalism," and that his criticism of existing methods of religious worship were destructive rather than constructive. While he tried to explain away Paine's pronounced hostilities against established religion as the reactions of a sensitive man to the "mental collisions produced in America and Europe by the separation of church and state in the New World," he failed to develop this idea, allowing it to remain merely a suggestion of an argument--a most tenuous one, at that, for a few paragraphs later he asserted that no valid or extenuating excuse ever has been found to justify Paine's labored attacks on the Bible.⁴¹ Attempting to prove that these writings were demoralizing to the religious beliefs of the people of that time, Moses committed what is perhaps the gravest sin of which a scholar can be guilty: the deliberate falsification of material in order to prove a point. Stating that "Paine once submitted some of his writings which antagonized [sic] to Mr. Franklin, and the sage displayed much wisdom and tolerance in his kindly advice to the writer,"⁴² Moses proceeded to quote in full this letter in which Franklin advised against publication of the manuscript. Since Paine's name appears nowhere on this particular Franklin letter, there is no proof whatsoever that it was to Paine

⁴¹Ibid., p. 645.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 646, 648.

that Franklin was addressing himself, nor is there any evidence that Paine ever sent to Franklin for his consideration any of his religious writings in their manuscript form.

Moses' essay inevitably leaves the reader somewhat nonplussed. Is it to be regarded as a clever attack on Paine, seeming to praise while it actually damns? Or is it an attempt to rehabilitate Paine by advising exclusion of a major portion of the body of his work? The best explanation seems to be that in trying to prove that Paine's religious views "obscured the real Tom Paine and misrepresented his true moral nature," Moses lost cognizance of the fact that these very writings which he would have the modern reader forget constitute, to a large extent, the "moral nature" which he was at pains to establish. To state that "these works never represented the true Thomas Paine," and "are neither worth considering . . . nor remembering,"⁴³ is totally inconsistent with the methods of reputable scholarship. And, finally, the unwarranted attribution of Franklin's letter to Paine would tend to vitiate any validity he might otherwise have established.

As the months of 1914 fell away, the world spun ever closer to the coming holocaust, the Great War which would eventually become an international conflict, one involving even the avowedly neutral Americans. In this significant year appeared in the American Catholic Quarterly Review a judgment of Paine notable for its tissue of innuendo, half-truths, and hearsay evidence. The opening sentence of the essay, which referred to Paine as "the English infidel writer," clearly established the bias of the whole. With the stated purpose of

⁴³Ibid.

counteracting the "many favorable mentions of Paine that have lately been appearing in a 'popular paper' [said popular paper remaining unnamed]," the unknown author found "the terms of adulation . . . offensive in the highest degree to Catholic readers." His detestation of Paine was so great that it even tinged his estimation of Franklin, that "erratic genius" whose friendship Paine "had been lucky enough to gain."⁴⁴ As for the innuendo, one example will suffice. The author insinuated that Paine's references to God's majesty and sovereignty in his Revolutionary writings was a deliberate ploy to gain the favor of the people, that he donated all royalties and even most of his salary to the war cause in a calculated effort to effect some ulterior motive. But what that motive might have been he failed to state. In a similar manner he wrote that Paine in these works kept very carefully concealed the fact that he was an infidel, and that it was only after his visit to France and coming in contact with the violent and atheistical writers there that he openly expressed his true nature. He conspicuously failed to take note of the fact that the express purpose of the very document he so bitterly assailed was to counteract, not to promulgate, the spread of atheism in France. The latter half of the article was composed of a letter purportedly written by the Right Rev. Joseph Fenwick to his brother, detailing the visit made by two priests to Paine during his final illness. Written more than thirty years after Paine's death, the letter recalled with stenographic detail every sentence uttered by all parties and went to great length to depict

⁴⁴"Vincit Veritas," "Influence of Paine on American Thought: His Sad End," American Catholic Quarterly Review, 39(1914), 347-48.

Paine as "a monster . . . a wretched being . . . besmeared in filth . . . one whose better days had been one continued scene of debauch." Paine, slaving like an animal in his fury, was said to have driven these Christian stewards away "in the highest pitch of his voice, and seemed a very maniac with rage and madness."⁴⁵ The climaxing touch of irony is added by the signature which the writer appended--"Vincit Veritas," truth conquers.

In 1915 Ella Wheeler Wilcox, that prolific poet of the people, offered a saccharine testimony in the form of a small pamphlet entitled Lest We Forget. Effusive in her praise of Paine, Mrs. Wilcox made the sweeping generalizations that we owe our independence as the United States of America to Paine's writings, that The Crisis alone saved the cause from dissolution, that Paine was the prime mover in the establishment of the American Republic. Carried away by her own enthusiasm, the author labeled Jefferson the co-author of the famous declaration, and stated that Common Sense awakened people to thoughts of separation and converted Washington, assertions that somewhat stretch the truth. The remainder of the pamphlet was taken up with praiseful quotations of notables, ranging from Napoleon to Andrew Jackson, and concluded with a forceful exhortation to the world to wake up and join the Thomas Paine National Historical Association.⁴⁶

Elbert Hubbard in the same year offered a similar cloying tribute in a thirty-one page pamphlet entitled Thomas Paine, published by the

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 349-52, 355.

⁴⁶Lest We Forget (East Aurora, New York: Roycroft Shop, [1915]), pp. 4, 5, 6, 8.

Paine Historical Association. While he summarized Paine's career, Hubbard lapsed regularly into ecstatic praise of the author, regarding him as a savior of the world and comparing him to other such saviors as Socrates, Jesus, and Galileo, and giving to him a "supernal position in the galleries of fame."⁴⁷ Like Mrs. Wilcox, Hubbard concluded with a plea to the reader to write the Paine Association for literature. As a final touch, he affixed portraits of himself and Paine on facing pages.

The final notice to appear in 1915 was an adulatory essay written by George R. Boynton for Americana. While it basically condensed Conway, the article stressed Paine's Quaker background as contributing to his uniqueness, seeing his love of freedom as so strong that he willingly violated teachings of Quakerism and shouldered a musket when it became apparent that Britain would never settle matters by negotiations. Boynton persistently toyed with speculations on what Paine would have become had he not been "hated by the politicians, the slave holders of the South, the hypocritical sanctimonious element in the North interested in supplying the demand and his own sect, the Quakers. . . . What brilliants would our modern reformers have contributed to a coronet for that man's brow . . .," he wistfully concluded.⁴⁸

When America in 1918 turned her full attention to the task of winning the war, the Committee on Public Information, that arm of the government responsible for molding public opinion, discovered in Paine's writing a rich source of material for its propaganda literature. An

⁴⁷Thomas Paine (East Aurora, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, [1915]), p. 18.

⁴⁸"Thomas Paine," Americana, 5(1915), 890, 892.

untitled article in The Bookman noted that the promoters of the Liberty Loan had emblazoned their posters with the first sentence of The Crisis. The author went on to state that Paine's devotion to patriotism made many of his lofty sentiments as applicable to America's present struggle as when they were written. "'It is the object only of war that makes it honorable. And if there was ever a just war since the world began, it is the war in which America is now engaged,'" he quoted from The Crisis.⁴⁹

In a similar fashion an editorial in the New York Times called attention to the fact that "there was a long time--and it was not so very long ago--when the name of THOMAS PAINE was anathema with many a good pious soul. Today, with the entrance of the United States into the war, the words and teachings of this great writer of the days of the American Revolution are being brought vividly home to us. . . ."50

Using Paine as a means of attacking Roosevelt, the author of a short article in The Public declared that ". . . if the Strenuous One were inclined to practice the square deal as ardently as he preaches it he would, in this case, have made long ago an exception to his apparently inflexible rule never to acknowledge a mistake." After having chastized the former President for appealing to religious bigotry, for having written in ignorance and having accepted as truth hearsay evidence, the author declared that Paine was not a chauvinist and a jingoist, the implication being that Roosevelt was. The militant Rough Rider would be shocked by Paine's doctrine on war, he continued, and

⁴⁹"Chronicle and Comment," Bookman, 47(1918), 432-34.

⁵⁰Editorial, New York Times, 9 June 1918, sec. 6, p. 270, col. 2.

quoted: "'If there is a sin superior to any other, it is that of wilful and offensive war.'" An obvious advocate of the controversial single tax, the writer concluded by stating that Paine believed in "the fundamental truth upon which the single tax doctrine is based," and was "much nearer a correct understanding of true principles of taxation than are the great majority of our statesmen today."⁵¹

Another brief essay which indicated that Paine's reputation during this particular time was experiencing one of its more favorable periods appeared in a May issue of The Nation. To show that while Paine was being abused in America during his last years there were some in London who praised him, the author reprinted two letters to Paine from Thomas Hardy, a Scottish boot-maker and one-time secretary of the "much-maligned and unjustly suppressed London Corresponding Society." This organization, whose main goal was reform of Parliament, had been formed in 1792, its members drawn mostly from the ranks of tradesmen, mechanics, and shopkeepers. The letters recounted how Paine had been toasted at the meetings, was remembered with respect, and hailed as "'a man who both contributed so much by his pure principles and valuable writings to the enlightening of his fellowmen. . . .'"⁵²

With the war behind it and demobilization proceeding rapidly, America in 1919 was occupied with the issue of membership in the League of Nations. While Woodrow Wilson vigorously pushed for United States acceptance of the treaty, pushed so hard, in fact, that he suffered a

⁵¹"Related Things," The Public, 21(1918), 148, 149.

⁵²Elbridge Colby, "Letters from Thomas Hardy to Thomas Paine," The Nation, 106(1918), 589.

serious physical collapse, a determined group in the Senate, suspicious of international alliances, fought its passage with well-calculated stalling tactics.

An article about Paine by R. C. Roper appeared in a May issue of The Public, a pro-Wilson journal, and seemed written largely to pump up support for American membership in the League. Pointing to Paine as the first American openly to champion a league of nations, Roper noted Paine's remarks in Rights of Man on international conventions which would act as courts of arbitration in disputes between nations. He also pointed out that Paine had viewed a confederation of nations as the only way to achieve a reduction of armaments. In answering League opponents who feared entangling alliances, the author cited Paine as having been "as discriminating as President Wilson in preferring to deal with representative or national governments rather than with mere court governments."⁵³ Roper had a few months earlier called attention in the same journal to the fact that "America's greatest immigrant," had to his credit early championed many of the causes dear to the hearts of twentieth century Progressives: conservatism, woman suffrage, abolition, pensions for the aged, election of a federal judiciary, education of poor children at public expense, the single tax.⁵⁴

Indicative of the increasingly tolerant view of Paine was the address delivered by James A. Roberts before the New York State Historical Association in 1920. Having declared it the duty of all

⁵³"Thomas Paine First to Urge League of Nations," The Public, 22(1919), 488-89.

⁵⁴"Citizen of the World," The Public, 22(1919), 259-60.

patriotic Americans "to look carefully into the life and work of this man and learn if there be a sound basis for the envenomed hostility that attaches to his memory, or whether he may not be the victim of the proverbial ingratitude of republics," Roberts reached two conclusions: (1) Paine's Quaker background taught him that the "inner light" was more important than any revelation in the Scriptures; therefore, the Trinitarians considered him dangerous and his teachings false. (2) His outspoken denunciation of any hereditary monarchical form of government alienated many Federalists who considered themselves aristocrats and favored that type of government; to these people the unanswerable logic of Rights of Man was vicious. From these causes began that unpopularity which followed Paine to his death, Roberts concluded.⁵⁵

Finally, the influence of the spirit of Progressivism in the 1900-1920 era can be seen in the nomination of Paine to the Hall of Fame in May, 1920. The New York Times illustrated its account of the nomination with a portrait and kind words concerning Paine's role in the Revolution.⁵⁶ It is also interesting to note that on the list of eighty-nine candidates put forth was found the name of Paine's best-known biographer, Moncure D. Conway.

Literary Histories And Anthologies

In the opening and closing years of this era appeared two significant histories of American literature. Writing in the Introduction to A Literary History of America, Barrett Wendell in 1901 stated that

⁵⁵"Thomas Paine," New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal, 1(1920), 73, 82, 85.

⁵⁶"Candidacy for Hall of Fame," New York Times, 9 May 1920, sec. 7, p. 2, col. 1.

"an important phase of our study must accordingly be that which attempts to trace and to understand the changes in the native character of the Americans and of the English, which so long resulted in disunion of national sentiment."⁵⁷ Eighteen years later Percy Boynton prefaced his history with the remark that his general purpose had been to "eliminate . . . or omit authors of minor importance in order to stress the men and the movements that are most significant in American intellectual history" and that he had "written with a view to showing the drift of American thought. . . ."⁵⁸ Yet in spite of these stated aims neither writer considered Paine of sufficient stature for inclusion in his work. In fact, no mention of him is made at all. This is not meant to suggest, however, that Paine was totally neglected by all the literary historians and anthologists of the period. On the contrary, he was usually included, although the estimated value of his contributions varies from study to study, as the following survey will indicate.

In 1901 Alphonso G. Newcomer compared Paine to Jefferson, noting that "he had neither the solid attainments nor the cultivated tastes of Jefferson, but he had all of Jefferson's radicalism and was utterly fearless in parading it." The Age of Reason he termed "coarse and superficial," and advised the reader to dismiss it, since it wasn't written in America. He generally estimated Paine to be "an open scoffer and sceptic, at war generally with the established order of things."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ A Literary History of America (New York: Scribner's, 1901), p. 9.

⁵⁸ A History of American Literature (Boston: Ginn, 1919), p. iii.

⁵⁹ American Literature (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1901), pp. 41-42.

While he admired Paine for his services to the cause of freedom, Lorenzo Sears wrote in 1902 that "his cloudy decline in the afternoon of life has done much to obscure his early fame. . . ." While he would class most of the tracts and pamphlets of that time among the ephemera of literature, Sears regarded Common Sense and The Crisis as notable and included in his history two pages of quotations from these works.⁶⁰ Richard Burton's Literary Leaders of America termed Common Sense ". . . full of racy vigor as well as intellectual power," and said that his religious position is that of a liberal rather than what we would now call a radical.⁶¹ R. P. Halleck in 1911 stated that he intended not to slight the Colonial period in his history. While he did not omit Paine from his study, he regarded it as unfortunate that Paine "is more remembered for his skeptical The Age of Reason than for his splendid services to the cause of liberty."⁶²

The account of Paine in William J. Long's 1913 study is somewhat fuller than in the previous works mentioned but reflects the popular view of the time: grudging admiration must be granted to an offensive man possessed of a "shady past." He set forth the usual praises for the patriotic writings but characterized Paine as "essentially an agitator, as uneasy in peace as a fish out of water," and compared him to a stormy petrel, "a restless bird that appears with the first white-caps of a gale, and that chippers most contentedly in the midst of

⁶⁰ American Literature in the Colonial and National Periods (Boston: Little, Brown, 1902), pp. 128-32.

⁶¹ Literary Leaders of America (New York: Scribner's, 1904), p. 6.

⁶² Reuben Post Halleck, History of American Literature (New York: American Book, 1911), pp. 67-68.

turmoil and danger." Obviously relying on tradition, Long sketched Paine's "last sad years, when he was at war with himself, with his friends, and with the only country which had appreciated him."⁶³ Very similar to this estimation was the one given by J. C. Metcalf a year earlier. Following a brief summary of Paine's American career, in which he touched upon the Revolutionary pamphlets and the work for independence, Metcalf allocated the remainder of his remarks to The Age of Reason, a work which "long ago met its just deserts and few read it now." Regarding its tone as "flippant and generally in bad taste," he labeled it as "more offensive in manner than in matter and its author as "eccentric."⁶⁴

Paine received very little attention in R. B. Pace's 1915 work⁶⁵ and even shorter shrift in the collective effort of A. G. Newcomer, A. E. Andrews, and H. J. Hall.⁶⁶ Pace mentioned only Paine's pamphleteering efforts and the 1917 anthology headnote tersely noted that Paine was "regarded as an atheist by the strictly orthodox thinkers. . . ."⁶⁷

As the second decade neared its end, L. W. Payne came forth with a literary history primarily intended to serve as a handbook for the

⁶³American Literature (Boston: Ginn, 1913), pp. 147-51.

⁶⁴John Calvin Metcalf, American Literature (Richmond, Va.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1914), pp. 85-87.

⁶⁵Roy Bennett Pace, American Literature (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1915), pp. 45-47.

⁶⁶Alphonso Gerald Newcomer, Alice E. Andrews, Howard Judson Hall, eds., Three Centuries of American Poetry and Prose (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1917), p. 156.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

high school student. In it Paine received more favorable treatment than in any of the previous works cited. Presaging the more sympathetic appraisals which would come later, Payne concluded that "unfortunately Paine is more frequently referred to as an enemy of Christianity than as a patriot. He was undoubtedly a sincere lover of liberty and we should give him full credit for the bold fight he made for our own independence and for human rights in general."⁶⁸ In a similar view Bliss Perry in 1920 commented that Paine's style of familiar talk to the crowd had been used seventy years before him by Defoe and Swift and would be used later by Lincoln. Of Paine's latter days Perry noted that "the reputation of the 'rebellious staymaker' has suffered from certain grimy habits and from the ridiculous charge of atheism." He concluded a brief consideration of Paine by noting that "In no sense an original thinker, he could impart to outworn shreds of deistic controversy and to shallow generalizations about democracy a personal fervor which transformed them and made his pages gay and bold and clear as a trumpet."⁶⁹

Histories And Works Of Political Science

A sampling of the works produced by historians and political theoreticians between 1900 and 1920 shows that Paine, though occasionally neglected, generally was accorded more favorable attention than he had received from the literary historians. This may be

⁶⁸ Leonidas Warren Payne, Jr., History of American Literature (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1919), pp. 60-63.

⁶⁹ The American Spirit in Literature, Vol. 34 of The Chronicles of America Series, ed. Allen Johnson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 75-76.

attributed to the fact that historians were less interested in his personal life and religious writings than in his involvement in the process of nation-making.

One of the most widely used histories of the period was that written by A. C. McLaughlin.⁷⁰ Although his work went through nine editions and was completely revised in 1919, he made no mention of Paine. McLaughlin did, however, in his contribution to the series The American Nation: A History, give some little attention to Paine, mentioning Common Sense as setting forth the philosophy that government had grown at the expense of liberty and the right of the individual.⁷¹

Paine was briefly dealt with by W. E. Curtis in his 1901 biography of Jefferson. He noted that Jefferson wrote to Paine in Paris offering him an office, and later in the book he recounted the incident wherein Jefferson's note commending the Rights of Man was printed in the American edition of that work, bringing down upon him the condemnation of both the religious and Federalist parties.⁷² On the other hand, S. E. Forman's The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson made no mention of Paine except for the inclusion of sections of a few letters to James

⁷⁰ Andrew C[unningham] McLaughlin, A History of the American Nation (New York: D. Appleton, 1919).

⁷¹ The Confederation and the Constitution, 1783-1789, vol. 10 of The American Nation: A History, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart, 28 vols. (New York: Harper, 1905), p. 40.

⁷² William Eleroy Curtis, Thomas Jefferson (London: Lippincott, 1901), pp. 150, 237.

Monroe and Francis Eppes which related to Paine.⁷³ Also in 1901 appeared Everett Tomlinson's Young Folks' History of the American Revolution, which mentioned Paine in connection with the group who advocated independence as the only hope for the American colonists.⁷⁴

While he had dealt with Paine only in passing in his The Loyalists in the American Revolution, Claude H. Van Tyne allocated five pages to him in his volume of The American Nation series.⁷⁵ While he considered Paine's Common Sense a seminal document in the literature of the Revolution, Van Tyne characterized its author as a "zealot in charity, lover and maker of music, shallow in scholarship but deep in sympathy, . . . more fit than many wiser men to arouse America to the final act of independence." He concluded his notably unbiased account by pointing out that, although Paine lived to be hooted by American mobs, his Age of Reason differed in no way from the religious views of Franklin and Jefferson, and that even though there were unlovable things about Paine, he was a man "ever busy trying to soften the lot of the oppressed, and [thus] not unworthy of respect."⁷⁶

In 1902 the presses of Harper and Brothers began to roll off the first sheets of an impressive five-volume work entitled A History of

⁷³Samuel E. Forman, The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bowen-Merrill, 1900), pp. 231, 328.

⁷⁴Young Folks' History of the American Revolution (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1901), p. 86.

⁷⁵The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York: Macmillan 1902), pp. 95, 277; The American Revolution, 1776-1783, vol. 9 of The American Nation: A History, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart, 28 vols. (New York: Harper, 1905), pp. 61-65.

⁷⁶The American Revolution, 1776-1783, p. 62.

the American People. At that time unknown on the national political scene, its author, Woodrow Wilson, was widely known and respected as an academician. Having Earned a Ph. D. degree in political science from Johns Hopkins, Wilson had advanced through the academic ranks and in 1902 was exerting progressive leadership as president of Princeton University. While he did not regard Paine as one of the founders of the Republic, Wilson did lay stress on the importance of Common Sense as a pamphlet which "thrust constitutional argument upon one side and spoke flatly for independence." Noted as a skillful and effective speaker himself, Wilson emphasized Paine's absolute mastery of the techniques of persuasive writing:

. . . no writing ever more instantly swung men to its humor. It was hard to resist its quick, incisive sentences, which cut so unhesitatingly to the heart of every matter they touched; which spoke, not the arguments of the lawyer or the calculations of the statesman, but the absolute spirit of revolt, and were as direct and vivid in their appeal as any sentences of Mr. Swift himself could have been. They were cast, every one, not according to the canons of taste, but according to the canons of force. . . .⁷⁷

The following year C. Edward Merriam, a professor of political science at the University of Chicago, published A History of American Political Theories, a work whose purpose was to present a description and analysis of the characteristic types of political theory that have from time to time been dominant in American political life. Dealing with Paine in chapter ii, "The Political Theory of the Revolutionary Period," Merriam regarded Common Sense as the turning point in American policy and the most striking expression of the latent democratic

⁷⁷ A History of the American People, 5 vols. (New York and London: Harper, 1902), III, 91.

sentiment prevalent among the colonists. He noted that the "remarkable pamphlet" presented a style of argument new to the colonists, ". . . a bold demand for separation from government by the mother country and from the form of government in the mother country."⁷⁸

Edward Channing, one of the prominent historians of this period, pointed out in a 1906 study that "a remarkable pamphlet entitled Common Sense directed the attention of the people toward the subject of independence, and later in the work he noted, too, that in the same pamphlet Paine had "suggested that 'a continental conference be held . . . to frame a continental charter'" and had advocated a revision of the Articles of Confederation in Public Good, a later pamphlet.⁷⁹

A thesis which persistently recurs throughout the corpus of Paine criticism produced in the twentieth century concerns his role in the formation of the Declaration of Independence. While some critics claim for Paine a significant position as one of the actual drafters of the document, others assert that he had no hand in it whatsoever. To the latter group belongs John H. Hazleton, in whose study of the history of the Declaration Paine played no role except as the author of pamphlets advocating independence. A selection was quoted from John Adams' autobiography in which Adams gave forth the opinion that Common Sense was not of so much importance in the Revolution as was generally thought. Hazleton also quoted from Benjamin Rush's Diary and from

⁷⁸ A History of American Political Theories (New York: Macmillan, 1903), p. 74.

⁷⁹ A Students' History of the United States Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1906), pp. 179, 233.

Conway, who claimed the short-lived anti-slavery clause in the Declaration was written by Paine.⁸⁰

In The Power of Ideals in American History, Ephraim D. Adams noted that the theory of democracy first found adequate expression in America in the writings of Paine and that the appeal made by his works was due to "a remarkable combination of clear statement, vigorous and attractive writing, and a deduction from which there was no escape--provided one granted his premises." In commenting on the importance of Common Sense and Rights of Man, Adams concluded that Paine was "the first to state the ideal of democracy, as it later came to be accepted in America under the leadership of Jefferson. . . ."⁸¹

George L. Clark's biography of Silas Deane also appeared in 1913 and painted a rather dark picture of Paine. However, any validity his remarks might have had was mitigated by the fact that his assertions concerning Paine were several times incorrect. For example, he attributed a remark to Paine that was indeed made by a Paine; but it was Robert Treat, not Thomas, who made it. Elsewhere he stated that Paine had been discharged from his position as Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. In fact, Paine resigned his position; he was not discharged. Since he was sympathetic to Deane, Clark depicted Laurens and Paine working together as deadly enemies of Deane.⁸²

⁸⁰The Declaration of Independence: Its History (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1906), pp. 91, 406, 407.

⁸¹The Power of Ideals in American History (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1913), pp. 128-29.

⁸²Silas Deane: A Connecticut Leader in the American Revolution (New York and London: Putnam's, 1913), pp. 150-51.

In his 1918 study of the days immediately preceding the break with England, Carl Becker discussed Paine in connection with the changing tide of public opinion concerning separation. The change in point of view would have been made in any case, he thought, but "in rapidly investing the idea of independence with the shining virtues of an absolute good to be embraced joyously, a great influence must be ascribed to the little pamphlet entitled Common Sense."⁸³

Concluding this survey of histories, we must mention Edward Channing's 1920 multi-volume work. Volumes III and IV, which treat of the Revolution, give only scant attention to Paine. Of Common Sense Channing said that it "unquestionably converted thousands to the necessity of separation," and quoted a number of well-known phrases from the pamphlet. In volume IV he mentioned Paine only in connection with John Adams and quoted from a Paine letter to Jefferson.⁸⁴

Summary

The first two decades of the twentieth century constituted an era of striking social and material achievement, an energetic era which exhibited an unbounded faith in the future, when every index promised continued growth and prosperity, an era in which the dominant mood of the nation can best be described as "expansive," an era which later generations of disillusioned Americans were often to recall with fondness and a certain longing. The liberal sentiment which dominated

⁸³The Eve of Revolution: A Chronicle of the Break with England, vol. 2 of The Chronicles of America, ed. Allen Johnson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1918), pp. 247-51.

⁸⁴The American Revolution, 1761-1789, vol. 3 of A History of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1920), p. 189; Vol. 4: Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815, p. 205 and n.

the period and manifested itself in the bipartisan crusade known as Progressivism was a clearly discernible influence on the reputation of Thomas Paine. While estimations of Paine's worth varied considerably throughout the period, ranging from lavish and uncritical praise to bitter denunciation, the overall tendency indicated an increasingly tolerant and appreciative appraisal of the man and his work.

Concerning Paine's reputation in the period 1900-1920, the following generalizations can be made: (1) though he became an increasingly more highly respected figure as the century unfolded, Paine was still subject to hostile attacks from persons holding strictly orthodox religious views, from the Catholic press, and those journals controlled or influenced by persons antagonistic toward him. (2) There was produced during this period quite a large body of work characterized by its highly partisan nature and its uncritical acclaim of Paine. Such vocal champions as W. M. Van der Weyde, J. E. Remsburg, and Elbert Hubbard published much of this material through the auspices of the Thomas Paine National Historical Association. (3) The writers of the more scholarly essays and critical appraisals approached the controversial writings in a tolerant manner, discussing them in terms of their relation to eighteenth-century deism rather than as offensive, heretical works. The political writings were most frequently admired and analyzed in terms of effects of style. (4) Whereas Paine was usually included in literary histories and anthologies, those works reflected, for the most part, grudging admiration granted to an offensive man possessed of a "shady past." The pamphlets of the Revolution were admired and the Age of Reason deplored. There were few instances

of very favorable treatment in those works surveyed. (5) In works of history and political science, Paine was generally accorded sympathetic attention. His writings of the Revolution were stressed as important factors in the struggle for independence, whereas the religious writings were generally ignored. (6) In July, 1905, Paine's bust was placed in Independence Hall. The increasingly liberal temper of the nation was further evidenced by the renewed interest in his work during World War I and by his nomination to the Hall of Fame in 1920.

III. PAINE IN THE DOLLAR DECADE: 1921-1929

Editions

In 1922 Carl Van Doren, a name which yet ranks high in American scholarship, edited for the Modern Library Selections from the Writings of Thomas Paine, the first significant collection of Paine's writings to be published in the 1921-1929 period. Van Doren's closely printed ten-page introduction presented Paine as "the Ragged Philosopher of his race . . . [who] like a different Socrates . . . brought philosophy to the people."¹ With this slant established in the opening sentence, Van Doren was able in a masterful initial paragraph to present the essential aspects that he considered basic to any understanding of Paine: his deism, his republicanism, his language, his fight for the rights of self-government, free speech and a free press. In fact, the whole introduction resembles nothing so much as a set of meticulously packed valises, each valise-paragraph so crammed with facts and ideas that the merest handling explodes the whole, literally inundating the unwary reader.

Having closed his opening paragraph with the idea that Paine was "that almost incredible thing, a tribune of the people without self-interest," Van Doren moved to consider the extent to which Paine's doctrines were still potent in the present day. Because he never

¹Selections from the Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. with an Introduction by Carl Van Doren (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), p. vii.

doubted, because he never brooded but always walked under the full light of his convictions, because his passions flowered as eloquence and his decisions as epigrams, Paine's words "have still the vitality of deeds actually witnessed. . . . his voice has still the accent of authority and his books . . . sound both timeless and immediate," the editor concluded.² Van Doren then proceeded to examine in turn the principal works reprinted in the collection, stressing, as he dealt with each, the idea that Paine always aimed his works at the masses, "men and women everywhere who by lack of learning are shut away from those fields of liberal speculation which as a rule it costs some learning to arrive at." Common Sense, he wrote, "expounds the doctrine of the social contract to a people most of whom with their own eyes had seen some instance or other of that deliberate association of men for safety and mutual help. . . ." The Crisis papers he termed tireless propaganda "which contrived to set the war always forth as essentially a strife between good and evil,"; Rights of Man he characterized as "an apologia for America . . . an exposition of the doctrines which Paine believed to be marching on to the conquest and salvation of the world." One noteworthy point Van Doren made concerning this latter work was that Paine and Burke were bound to disagree on the specific points being debated since both were radical and their irreconcilable tempers would inevitably clash.³

Van Doren's penetrating analysis of The Age of Reason sustained the "Ragged Philosopher" image, presenting Paine as "a David for the

²Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

³Ibid., pp. vii, ix, x, xii.

people against the vast Goliath of oppressive orthodoxy." He defended the fierceness of Paine's attack on the church on the grounds that, while Paine was fighting on the defensive, "he imagined himself rather as defending the pure religion of nature and the lofty conception of God which trivial and senseless institutions wanted to defile." He did not mean to hurt the true faith in tearing away the false, Van Doren maintained; he intended, rather, to help free the multitudes who could not free themselves.⁴

The concluding paragraphs of the introduction pointed out what Van Doren considered to be Paine's general defects and merits. "His defects," he held, "lay on that side of his nature where the imagination belonged." Paine never saw into the depths of human character, his concern was too exclusively with the plain man in his daily business, and he was partly blind to the place of religion in poetry and history. "Indeed, his principal defect may be found in his failure to perceive what uses of history were wrong." He admired, too, Paine's "powerful speculative intelligence," his honesty, and his bravery. Ending his fact-filled yet lucid survey, Van Doren stated once again the three concerns with which Paine was primarily concerned throughout his principal writings: (1) humanity free and equal by the laws of nature; (2) governments as national associations which might at any time be terminated for good cause; (3) ancient church establishments to be abolished in favor of an originally lowly and humble faith.⁵

The Life and Writings of Thomas Paine, edited by W. M. Van der Weyde, was published by the Thomas Paine Historical Association in

⁴Ibid., p. xv.

⁵Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.

1925. This so-called Patriots' Edition consisted of ten volumes, of which the Life composed the first. A two-page introduction by Thomas A. Edison, long a vocal admirer of Paine, set forth the usual remarks of praise obligatory to an officer in the Paine Historical Association and noted that a separate chapter had been devoted in the Life to Paine's inventions, an area in his career that most literary critics tended to overlook. Of Van der Weyde's biography itself, not much need be said. Its 46-page length assured that its subject would be thoroughly treated; however, as might be expected, the study was not documented and not at all objective. The author's bias was made plain at the very beginning when he wrote that "no glowing star stood still over Thetford, England, on January 29, 1737, in token of an extraordinary event. No wise men journeyed from afar to the humble dwelling . . . to lay gifts at the feet of her new-born babe." Fullsome in his praise of his subject as the savior of humanity, Van der Weyde expansively asserted that Paine had called the American nation into being, that his utterances had molded the characters and fashioned the high thoughts of great leaders and so guided the new nation through war and disaster to peace and security, that he had for a whole century rested under the shadow of an eclipse and then emerged triumphant as one of the great liberators of the human race.⁶ Sympathetic in every respect to Paine, Van der Weyde devoted several chapters to the Deane affair, projecting Paine as the victim of secret diplomacy; Gouverneur Morris, too, was painted in very villainous colors. While the Life

⁶ The Life and Works of Thomas Paine, Patriots' Edition, ed. W. M. Van der Weyde, 10 vols. (New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1925), I, 1-2.

was a readable work, it offered no new material and suffered from the author's pro-Paine propensity.

In 1928 Van der Weyde wrote the thirteen-page preface to the Rimington & Hooper limited edition (376 copies) of Common Sense. It was a typical Van der Weyde performance--encomiastic and uncritical. At the outset he termed Common Sense "a work of such paramount importance that it is quite impossible to estimate its value," and further designated it as "immortal" and "epoch-making." Notable for its absence of any comment on Paine's method or style, the preface did, however, contain some valuable information concerning the first edition of the pamphlet, its cost, sale, and circulation; it also reprinted Paine's remarks about Common Sense, which were in a brief biographical sketch written for Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress. A reprint of the first American edition, the slim volume also contained illustrations of the title pages of that edition, the first English edition, and the first French edition.⁷

A more important edition of Paine appeared in the same year in Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine, edited by A. W. Peach for the American Authors Series. The forty-eight-page introduction offered an essentially biographical account of Paine's career, some valuable comments on his method and style, and concluded with an attempt to estimate Paine's significance. Howard Mumford Jones, reviewing the book in American Literature, was not satisfied with Peach's introduction, however. He found it to be, "though carefully

⁷Common Sense, with a Preface by W. M. Van der Weyde (New York: Rimington & Hooper, 1928), pp. vii-viii.

prepared, not engaging in style or illuminating in substance."

"Paine belongs," he further noted, "to the whole eighteenth century rather than to American letters, and it is Mr. Peach's inability to focus his material from this point of view that weakens what he has to say." While he allowed that Peach had done a competent job, Jones concluded that "he has not done for Paine what must some day be done for him; namely, to indicate why he was the most popular propagandist in the western world. . . ." ⁸

In spite of these strictures, Peach's introduction did have much to recommend it. His comments on the quality of Paine's mind, his assessment of the basic strengths and weaknesses of Common Sense, and his analysis of Paine's method and style were both valid and informative. While Jones had characterized the concluding estimation as "faint," Peach simply closed his Introduction by stating that the deeper sources of Paine's command of his medium have never been studied and drew several conclusions concerning Paine's defective knowledge of history, his limited reading of English classics, his general lack of interest in drama and poetry, his familiarity with the Bible and the works of such thinkers as Locke, Voltaire, and Rousseau. ⁹

Biographies

In addition to the first volume Life of the previously-cited Patriots' Edition of Paine's works, two book-length biographical treatments were published in the 1921-1929 period. F. J. Gould's Thomas

⁸Rev. of Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine, by Arthur Wallace Peach, American Literature, 1(1929), 105-106.

⁹Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine, ed. with an Introduction by Arthur Wallace Peach (New York: Harcourt, 1928), p. xlv.

Paine, one of the popular Roadmaker Series, appeared in 1925, and Mary A. Best's Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy was published in 1928.

Gould's biography, a work of some 190 pages, obviously was limited so as to conform to the scope of the series; however, in spite of the length restriction, it contained a substantial introduction and epilogue. Notably free of the adulatory overtones present in many of the biographical accounts examined, Gould's book was structured in six chapter-segments, each corresponding to a significant period in Paine's career. For example, chapter one, "From Thetford to America," recounted in twenty-or-so pages Paine's life up to the time of the Declaration of Independence; chapter two, "The United States," related his part in the war; chapter three, "The Rights of Man," summarized events from the time Paine left America up to his departure for France. The introduction attempted at the outset to establish Paine in a historical perspective by noting social and economic happenings of the time and accounted for Paine's emergence in the disparity which existed in England between economic and social expansion. And, in conclusion, the epilogue stressed that Paine's sole purpose was to help effect a democratic polity, to replace monarchy everywhere with republicanism.

While Gould could hope to do no more than recount the principal episodes in the career of an individual who ranged widely and wrote much, he did maintain as a sustaining link the thesis that the principles of republicanism were foremost in all of Paine's various endeavors. For instance, in the first chapter he pointed out in some detail the anti-monarchical sentiments of Common Sense. Obviously a

strong republican himself, Gould several times chastized the Quakers, admonishing the reader that if the Quakers had prevailed "the Liberty Bell would not have rung on the Fourth of July." While he perforce did not elaborate on incidents such as the Silas Deane affair, Gould showed no inclination to place a halo around Paine's head; rather, he referred to the Deane affair merely as another example of graft which Paine condemned just as promptly as he had the follies of King George. Throughout the book he continued to lay stress on the importance of the revolutionary theories Paine put forward rather than to champion the man. Dealing with The Age of Reason, Gould maintained that Paine assailed the Christian creed because he found no intelligent and reliable guidance for democracy in the theology of Rome, Luther, Calvin or Wesley; and, therefore, he came forward with a religion for republics. And in the concluding chapter the author summarized: ". . . his fervent calls for a pacific democracy, uttered amid the roar of a European conflict, and in tones surpassed in honest emphasis by the voice of no other man of that time, powerfully contributed to the establishment of a universal conscience of humanity."¹⁰

While there were no listed reviews of Gould's biography in the 1925 Book Review Digest, the book was reviewed in the New York Times--or, more correctly, it received a bare mention in what was purportedly a review. The reviewer, J. St. Loe Strachey, instead of evaluating the book, summarized at length Paine's life and work in the manner of some of the more ardent Paine admirers. Only once in the course of

¹⁰ Frederick J. Gould, Thomas Paine (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1925), pp. 14, 41, 158, 168, 182-83.

the full-page "review" was Gould's book mentioned; certainly it cannot be said to have been reviewed.¹¹

When M. A. Best began her 1927 biography of Paine, she wrote in the Foreword that "snatching laurels from brows that long have worn them has become a fad, like antique collecting. It is a diverting change to place a wreath on a head that for more than a century has been crowned with infamy." This remark signaled the alert reader that the work, though a substantial one from the standpoint of sheer bulk (413 pages), was not to be classified among those carefully-researched and documented tomes repositied on the bookshelves of historians and scholars. And indeed it was not. Further on in the Foreword, Miss Best noted that "Paine translated the most advanced thought of his time into the vernacular";¹² and it was into the slangy vernacular of the 1920's that Miss Best endeavored to translate Paine. A reviewer called attention to this in trying to ascertain exactly what the author's intent was: "It is of the class of modern biographies . . . in which the author seems to feel that unless the great characters of history are to be utterly forgotten they have got to be presented to the modern reader in a different type of biography from that demanded by the scholar."¹³ Improving on the form introduced by such popularizers of

¹¹"Tom Paine, Pre-Discoverer of American Unionism," rev. of Thomas Paine, by F. J. Gould, New York Times Book Review, 28 June 1925, sec. 3, p. 7, col. 1.

¹²Mary Agnes Best, Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy (New York: Harcourt, 1927), pp. v, vii.

¹³Evarts B. Greene, untitled rev. of Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy, by M. A. Best, American Historical Review, 34(1928), 135.

great lives as Lytton Strachey and Andre Maurois, Miss Best aimed her work at the man on the street, framing her prose in the slang-like language which she thought he best understood. "Even morons and movie fans can understand it," a reviewer for the New York Herald Tribune wrote.¹⁴ Many modern readers would, therefore, find the language of the book its most notable--and perhaps its most detractive--aspect. Opening it at random, we read no further than a few lines when a slangy or hackneyed metaphor, such as the following three, all of which are found in a single eight-line paragraph, appear: "Leaving his kennel of underdogs to fend for themselves, Paine leaped into the saddle to arouse the continent. The horror of war was forgotten in his dread that the fairest flower of civilization might be nipped in the bud by the hand of a despot." When Miss Best characterized Alexander Hamilton as a man who "when only half awake . . . knew how many beans make five," or as a man "who can shake salt on the tail of high finance,"¹⁵ she seemed, indeed, to merit the judgment of the reviewer who wrote that "on the whole it is a book which deserves serious consideration for collateral reading by undergraduates, and is good for reading on the subway."¹⁶

As to Paine's reputation during this period, the reviews which Best's biography received may serve as a general index. A dozen or more reviews from various sources were examined and in almost all

¹⁴Charles Lee Snider, "Major Prophet of Democracy," rev. of Thomas Paine, by M. A. Best, New York Herald Tribune Books, 12 June 1927, p. 5.

¹⁵Best, pp. 53-54, 219.

¹⁶Greene, p. 136.

Paine was treated with a marked deference. The reviewer in Commonweal noted that the "one great service this book should do for the average reader is that of restoring Thomas Paine's true historical value," and termed him "a leading figure among those founders of the republic."¹⁷ H. S. Gorman, reviewing the book for the New York Times, praised the author's method, regarding the work as "excellently conceived." Paine, he concluded, emerged as "a dynamic figure pulsating with energy and activity, eager to do mental battle always with his peers, an apostle of the new era, a lover of tolerance, an unwearying fighter for political, social and religious liberty."¹⁸ Another reviewer hailed the book as a much-needed antidote to the disparagements of Paine being put forward by Billy Sunday and others of his fundamentalist ilk.¹⁹ W. E. Woodward, later to write a Paine biography of his own, wrote that Best "does much to put him in his proper historical setting, and to show what manner of man he was."²⁰ In a well-balanced review in The Independent, Stewart Beach noted that "it is the misfortune of great men who advocate unorthodox beliefs that their deeds are apt to live after them only in terms of their heresy,"²¹ while The Outlook reviewer called Paine "a glowing figure with a burning brain that

¹⁷Frederick H. Martens, untitled rev. of Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy, by M. A. Best, Commonweal, 6(1927), 535-36. Subsequent references to reviews of this book will use shortened form.

¹⁸Herbert S. Gorman, "Thomas Paine was Not a 'Filthy Little Atheist,'" New York Times Book Review, 29 May 1927, p. 6, col. 4.

¹⁹Snider, p. 5.

²⁰William E. Woodward, "That 'Filthy Little Atheist,'" Nation, 125(1927), 65.

²¹"Apostles of Liberty," Independent, 118(1927), 640.

could not be patient with thralls either on the mind or the body."²² In contrast to these tributes, The Catholic World reviewer labeled the book "a partisan pamphlet" and quite openly shifted his purpose from reviewing the book to attacking Paine's religious views as they were expressed in The Age of Reason, a document seemingly destined to be forever anathema to the Church of Rome. The reviewer, before his rechannelization, however, made some telling points: his statement that the work "is in effect a popularization of Moncure Conway's work of thirty-five years ago" was quite valid. Referring to it as "rather Hearstian for a book that makes any pretense to dignity," he noted, too, the book's newspaperish cast of language. And he scored a point in noting that Best gave no authority for many of the statements made in the book. In fact, the work had no documentation whatsoever, even though copious quotations from the work of both Paine and other figures of the time were utilized. With those few criticisms dispensed, the reviewer proceeded with no small degree of zeal to heap his own bit of obloquy on a "head . . . covered with infamy." Toward the end he did return to the book to note that "she [Best] is evidently unequipped to determine the merits and demerits of Paine's attack on the Bible, and on the Christian religion."²³

General Subject Books

While Paine was to receive a good deal of notice in the periodical press, he was treated in only a few book-length works, aside from

²²Anon. and untitled rev. in "Biography" section, Outlook, 146(1927), 323.

²³J. M. G. [illis], Catholic World, 126(1927), 415-17.

biographies, during the 1921-1929 period. The first of those few was an essay entitled "Thomas Paine," included among The Collected Essays & Addresses of the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, 1880-1920, published in 1922. Originally composed in 1905, the rather loose-jointed essay initially led the reader to think that Paine was going to be considered in a sympathetic fashion, for the opening paragraphs implied admiration for a man whose reputation had been very low. The author proceeded to summarize in a rather sketchy fashion Paine's career, noting that Common Sense "made its author a personage and, in his own opinion, a divinity." From that point on, the essayist's admiration steadily waned as disparagements became more frequent. He referred to Paine "smirking in the Tribune" as his "harangue" was read to the French Convention; in one sentence he referred to Paine as "outlaw" and "atheist," and in the next he declared him to be a vehement believer in God. This singular ambiguity was evident in the conclusion of the essay: While he maintained that Paine's "discourses on the theory of government are wonderful, and his views generally were almost invariably liberal, sensible, and humane," he was, at the same time, "wholly without one shred of humility . . . an oddity, a character, but he never took the first step towards becoming a great man."²⁴ The reader, therefore, came away without any clear notion as to the thesis being put forward in the essay.

²⁴ Augustine Birrell, The Collected Essays & Addresses of the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell (1922; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), I, 292-300.

A much more widely-known and controversial work than Birrell's essay was Gamaliel Bradford's Damaged Souls, which appeared in the same year. The book consisted of a series of biographical studies, the central purpose of which was, in Bradford's own words, "to do a group of somewhat discredited figures, and not endeavor in any way to rehabilitate or whitewash, but to bring out their real humanity and show . . . how the spiritual damage their souls had suffered was sufficient to explain the stigma attaching to their names."²⁵ Paine's thirty-page allocation was sandwiched between Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr.

The structural idea of Bradford's essay was that Paine was what he termed a "rebel," one of that strange breed of idealistic men who, because they had a genuine love of humanity, a large sympathy for the poor and downtrodden, thought they could best accomplish their ends by destructive rather than constructive means. Because the consideration of Paine centered almost totally upon this "rebel" concept, the essay was refreshingly free of the usual adulation or denunciation--the "either-or" motif--which characterized so much of Paine criticism up to this time.

After beginning with some characteristics of the typical rebel personality, Bradford pegged Paine as "just a commonplace rebel, entirely practical . . .," not at all like those ideal rebels, Satan and Prometheus. He stressed, too, the idealistic nature of Paine's writings: "his words burn everywhere with a large and splendid ardor

²⁵Damaged Souls (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1922) p. 4.

for democratic ideals, equality, and opportunity for everyone. . . ."

But throughout loomed the ever present thesis that Paine was more interested in destruction than in construction; "though the construction in Paine is obvious and undeniable," he wrote, "the destruction is far more obvious, indulged in with more relish and carried on at all times with the rebel's intense and unremitting vigor." And again: "he had no awe, no reverence, and he did like to pull down, cut up, and tear to pieces." If Paine was restless, pugnacious, obstinate, it was because those essential qualities belonged to the rebel personality, Bradford wrote. He closed the essay by restating his thesis that Paine's delight in destruction was attributable to a basically idealistic nature; "so it must be recognized," he concluded, "that, if Paine, like most rebels, did a considerable amount of harm to mankind, he also did a great amount of good. . . ." ²⁶ Bradford's unusual interpretation of Paine's "damaged soul" was to bring forth both remonstrance and commendation in the coming years; certainly it was an estimation unique in the growing body of twentieth-century Paine criticism.

A. O. Hansen's Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century, a study of the influence of the liberal movement on American life and institutions, dealt with Paine in some detail in chapter two, "Principles of the American Revolution." Free of any partisan over-cast, Hansen chose Paine as typical of that philosophy which formed the basis of the plans set forth in his study for a national system of education in the United States. He regarded Paine's significance as fourfold: (1) his extraordinary ability to put into the language of

²⁶Ibid., pp. 54, 57, 62-63, 65, 84.

the multitude the meaning of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the eighteenth-century revolt against fixed institutions made him the immediate source of much of the American thinking during the period from 1774 to 1800; (2) his relation to the liberal or radical thinkers in England and his connection with the French Revolution represented the larger movement toward democracy; (3) he represented the vividness of the yet untouched sources of the more radical type of American pamphleteers; (4) he saw and expressed most clearly the implications of the American Revolution for societal reconstruction. Paine's philosophy itself Hansen reduced to two principles: to follow nature and to investigate the truth objectively. While he may have gone too far in asserting that Franklin farsightedly brought Paine to America for the express purpose of being the pamphleteer of the Revolution, Hansen, on the whole, formulated judgments that seemed both reasonable and justifiable.²⁷ His account was free of extremism, neither dredging up the old "infidel" epithet nor showing any tendency to praise excessively.

Of less consequence was Michael Monahan's Nemesis (1926), a book of essays that essentially belonged, as the Saturday Review succinctly put it, to the Elbert Hubbard era.²⁸ While the first group of essays was devoted to the lives of certain famous authors and the great part that Nemesis took in their affairs, a second group dealt with more varied themes. It was to this latter group that the brief consideration

²⁷ Allen Oscar Hansen, Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 22-23.

²⁸ Untitled review in "New Books" section, Saturday Review, 3(1926), 57.

of Paine belonged. A very short chapter entitled "Two Heroes" dealt with Roosevelt, whom Monahan disliked exceedingly, and Paine, whom he approved of. Roosevelt, he stated, had written many more books than Paine, yet never contrived to write a single phrase as memorable as Paine's; and if Paine was inferior to Roosevelt, he concluded, it was only in "breadth of paunch and width of dental exposure."²⁹

The final work of this era to be mentioned is C. J. Keyser's Mole Philosophy & Other Essays. This 1927 work was again a collection of miscellaneous essays and contained a one-page consideration of Paine entitled "In Defence of Thomas Paine." The thesis of this essay--if it can be so labeled--was that Paine's memory had been maligned by Roosevelt, who "would have been yet more admirable had he been incapable of doing grave injustice to the memory of Thomas Paine."³⁰

Periodicals And Newspaper Accounts

During the Twenties a good deal of attention was given to Paine in the periodical press and in newspaper columns. As early as January, 1921, the New York Times reported a memorial dinner given by the Paine Historical Association at which Paine was eulogized by Oscar S. Strauss, former Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, as "the most convincing advocate of democracy," with a right to a place in our history "beside Washington, Adams, and Madison. . . ."³¹ In August of that year the weekly journal The Independent ran a full-page portrait

²⁹Nemesis (New York: Frank-Maurice, 1926), p. 220.

³⁰Cassius J. Keyser, Mole Philosophy & Other Essays (New York: Dutton, 1927), p. 58.

³¹"Thomas Paine Honored," New York Times, 29 Jan. 1921, p. 8, col. 2.

of Paine with a brief text which praised him as the father of the Declaration of Independence and noted that even "to this day, if people know nothing else about Thomas Paine, they can say readily that he was an 'atheist. . . .'"³² The long standing feud between the adherents of Paine and those of Roosevelt experienced one of its sporadic eruptions when the New York Times in October printed a long article by a clergyman which listed evidences of Roosevelt's religious nature. When Roosevelt called Paine "'that dirty little atheist' he put into it all the contempt he felt for an atheist," the Rev. Dr. Reisner wrote.³³ Shortly thereafter, the Paine faction, represented by one A. H. Teller, responded in an article which censured Roosevelt as a historian for not knowing better.³⁴

The most substantial article to appear in 1921 was M. Jourdain's essay "Tom Paine" in the journal Open Court. As several other critics were to do in this period, Jourdain pointed out initially that Paine exemplified the confidence and optimism in the minds of many late eighteenth-century Englishmen and attributed this confidence and optimistic spirit to "an exalted belief in the supreme power of human reason." Discussing The Age of Reason, he labeled Paine "a leader of the rationalist attack" and found the work "often very amusing" rather than horrific. The most interesting part of this article, however, was Jourdain's inclusion of a segment of a recently published diary of a

³²"The First Time It Was Ever Said," Independent, 106(1921), 42.

³³Christian F. Reisner, "Roosevelt and Religion," New York Times, 30 Oct. 1921, sec. 7, p. 3, col. 7.

³⁴Alfred H. Teller, "Defender for Tom Paine," New York Times, 13 Nov. 1921, sec 7, p. 8, col. 2.

Miss Wilmot, who had visited Paine in France. It did much to discount the numerous accusations of drunkenness and slovenliness which had been leveled at Paine in the past. "In spite of his surpassing ugliness," Miss Wilmot wrote, "the expression of his countenance is luminous, his manners easy and benevolent and his conversation remarkably entertaining. Altogether his style of manner is guileless and good-natured, and I was agreeably disappointed in him considering the odiously disagreeable things I was led to expect." One final note on Paine's method of composition which had not been mentioned previously lent interest to the article. Paine, pacing back and forth, formulated each sentence in his head, "then wrote it down entire and perfect and never to be amended," Jourdain stated.³⁵ While his essay cannot be classified as a scholarly piece of writing, Jourdain did present his subject in a manner that was rational and readable, free from any violent partisanship.

1922 was a rather unfruitful year, for only two articles were published concerning Paine. In "The Roving Critic" column of The Nation, Carl Van Doren furnished a brief essay that consisted of the opening and closing paragraphs of the introduction to his edition of Paine selections.³⁶ A more substantial, although more partisan, treatment was Henry Leffmann's essay in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography which approached Paine from the "misunderstood philosopher" viewpoint. With the purpose of giving a true picture of Paine,

³⁵M. Jourdain, "Tom Paine," Open Court, 35(1921), 578, 581-82.

³⁶"The Roving Critic," Nation, 114(1922), 165.

Leffmann established him as "the favorite and aid of the nation's greatest leaders," who, by reason of some seriously misunderstood later writings, had his memory execrated and his whole career grossly misrepresented. He referred to The Age of Reason, of course, a work which, he made clear by implication, he wished Paine had never written. Contrary to the accepted view, Leffmann saw Paine, not as a religious liberal, but as a bigot, "as I have, in my personal experience, found all deists of his type to be," he wrote. In summary he restated his thesis that "Paine has been much misunderstood and has been cruelly abused by many persons, but he was a friend of humanity and a friend of political freedom, and he deserves to be remembered with approval by all Americans."³⁷

The event which indicated the extent to which Paine's stock had risen by 1923 was the unveiling of the memorial tablet marking the site of the Greenwich Village dwelling in which Paine died. While this event elicited broad coverage in the area press, the activities of the still-active Paine Historical Society received attention also. In January the New York Times printed a lengthy report of the Association's commemorative dinner, an occasion which saw H. W. Corey, vice president of the organization, speaking against such topical issues as the prohibition amendment and censure of the press. "Do you think Tom Paine would have stood for Volsteadism and Billy Anderson? Not on your life!" he thundered. Perhaps the best indication of Paine's

³⁷"The Real Thomas Paine, Patriot and Publicist. A Philosopher Misunderstood," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 46(1922), 84, 94, 98-99.

growing respectability was the eminence of the principal speaker, Carl Van Doren, who delivered an address on Paine's contributions to American literature.³⁸

In February appeared the first of a series of articles in the New York Times relating to the unveiling of the memorial tablet. It reported simply that the Greenwich Village Historical Society, wishing to preserve landmarks, was preparing to place a memorial tablet on the house at 59 Grove Street occupying the site of the earlier house in which Paine died.³⁹ A second notice in May again called attention to the event, which would mark the 114th anniversary of Paine's death. The bronze tablet was described as containing a portrait and three of Paine's sayings.⁴⁰ A week before the scheduled event the paper listed the many dignitaries invited to the ceremony, among them the consuls from England and France.⁴¹ And on the day following the event detailed coverage was provided which indicated that, indeed, the Consul Generals had been present. A message had even been received and read from President Harding praising Paine's patriotic services to the cause of liberty. An extensive account, replete with quotes, was given of the principal speech, delivered by New York University Dean J. F. Johnson. The city which had refused to allow a street to be named "Reason" now

³⁸"Remember Thomas Paine," New York Times, 30 Jan. 1923, p. 5, col. 5.

³⁹"To Mark Last Home of Thomas Paine," New York Times, 18 Feb. 1923, sec. 2, p. 1, col. 4.

⁴⁰"To Unveil Tablet to Thomas Paine," New York Times, 13 May 1923, sec. 2, p. 7, col. 4.

⁴¹"Will Unveil Tablet to Thomas Paine," New York Times, 3 June 1923, sec. 2, p. 2, col. 6.

cooperated by blocking off traffic from the area during the hours of the ceremony.⁴²

A brief article concerning the influence of the French Physiocrats on Paine's economic doctrines appeared in the journal The Freeman late in 1923. Its author, F. W. Garrison, noted the points of similarity between Paine and the Physiocrats, the principal one being Paine's justification of the demand for freedom by appealing to the fixed and unalterable laws of nature.⁴³ There appeared shortly thereafter in the pages of the same journal another brief anonymous essay which picked up Bradford's "rebel" theme, labeling Paine as one of the "remarkable group of rebels whose successful attack upon the authorized government of their day has won for them the veneration of law-abiding posterity. . . ." Uncritical and undocumented, the essay expressed dissatisfaction that "the rights of man await fulfilment in an age of reason that has not yet dawned."⁴⁴

Whereas so many of the articles about Paine attempt to embrace his entire career and, consequently, result in being little more than factual recitals, Louise P. Kellogg's "Letter of Thomas Paine, 1793," concerned only one specific incident, that being the writing of a letter to Dr. James O'Fallon, Irish adventurer and brother-in-law of George Rogers Clark. The letter, which concerned a filibustering expedition to recover Louisiana for France, had been missing in the chain of evidence

⁴²"Village Unveils Tablet to Paine," New York Times, 10 June 1923, sec. 1, pt. 2, p. 8, col. 3.

⁴³Frank W. Garrison, "Paine and the Physiocrats," Freeman, 7(1923), 205-06.

⁴⁴"A Knight-Errant of Democracy," Freeman, 7(1923), 318-19.

in the Draper Manuscripts and when found proved conclusively that Clark had approached the French authorities and that his proposals for revolutionizing Louisiana had received favorable considerations in Paris. Miss Kellogg levied no judgments on Paine one way or the other, being primarily concerned with the historical detail which the document furnished.⁴⁵

Indignant is the best word that describes J. V. Nash's 1924 essay entitled "An Undamaged Soul: Thomas Paine." After opening on a familiar "stoning-the-prophet" theme, Nash launched into a biographical summary of Paine, interrupted himself to chastize the author of a recent sketch--obviously Bradford--whose "flippant opening words . . . are, to say the least, out of place." So self-righteous was his indignation that he admonished all writers to approach Paine with reverence: "Certainly, merriment or levity when writing of the great dead is worthy of only detestation and contempt," he intoned. Having dispensed this reproof, he continued his account. Soon, however, his personal animus surfaced again; speaking of Paine's unsuccessful marriage, Nash was diverted into a brief tirade on divorce laws and ended by lashing out at the state of South Carolina "and other backward portions of the world where bigotry and illiteracy still retain their strongholds." With flail-like sweeps he indicted the Congress for its "shocking injustice and ingratitude," all preachers and politicians who "have like Esau sold their birthrights for a mess of pottage," and even Carl Van Doren for referring to Paine as a "Ragged Philosopher." "He was never

⁴⁵"Letter of Thomas Paine, 1793," American Historical Review, 29(1924), 501-05.

ragged!" retorted Nash, having completely missed Van Doren's point. The extent to which his bias carried him can be seen in Nash's spirited defense of Paine's ill-conceived letter to Washington, who, he wrote, "would probably have died an obscure magistrate in an English colony" had it not been for Paine.⁴⁶ While it said nothing new, the essay did serve to indicate that the two extremes of feeling toward Paine continued to be manifest in the 1920-1929 period, this one being an example of such uncritical adulation as to preclude its having any scholarly worth.

The obverse side of this extremist coin was turned to view the following year when J. M. Gillis' essay "Tom Paine" appeared in The Catholic World. Originally one of a series of lectures on "Champions of Unbelief" delivered in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York City, by the author (who was also the magazine's editor), this hostile appraisal, which referred to Paine throughout as "Tom," was divided into six sections, each section detailing some unfavorable aspect of Paine's life and writing. In section 1 the author put forth his justification for dealing with Paine: his "popular reputation" as an opponent of orthodoxy Gillis found to be out of proportion to his merit. Unlike Gibbon and Voltaire, Paine had no wit and very small learning; his writings are "only pamphlets." Section 2 dealt with Paine's complaints about the severity of the criticism to which The Age of Reason was submitted: he was not a good sport, for, after all, The Age of Reason was only a "polemical screed," he concluded. Section 3 shifted attention of Paine's "incidental mistakes in manner": his cocksureness,

⁴⁶J. V. Nash, "An Undamaged Soul: Thomas Paine," Open Court, 38(1924), 577-94, 657-74.

intolerance, unfairness to Catholic doctrines constituted the principal "mistakes." Section 4 outlines Paine's "egregious fundamental errors": the idea that supernatural religion is foisted upon the people by priests he regarded as Paine's most radical blunder, and his total misconception of the nature and importance of the Bible his second basic error. Section 6 criticized Paine's philosophy as being ruinous to the government of the United States, its deleterious nature leading to chaos and nihilism.⁴⁷ It is understandable that Gillis, as official spokesman of a church which well into the twentieth century regarded Paine as a disciple of Satan, should have taken a hostile stand; yet the careful reader who has some knowledge of Paine's work sees that Gillis, to a great degree, fell victim himself to the very accusations of intolerance, faulty logic, and cocksureness which he had levied against Paine.

Paine received numerous favorable mentions in the New York Times throughout 1925, many of them taking the form of letters to the editor. A Dr. Eliot, who had compiled a list of leading educators, elicited a response from a reader who wrote that "Paine has been the only great teacher the world has ever known whose teachings have been entirely practical and strictly constructive in nature."⁴⁸ In June was published a lengthy interview with Thomas A. Edison, in which the elderly inventor set forth his ideas on Paine. "Of all the men who contributed to the birth of American liberty and helped safeguard the cradle for

⁴⁷ J. M. Gillis, "Tom Paine," Catholic World, 121(1925), 48-58.

⁴⁸ Unsigned Letter to the Editor, New York Times, 22 Feb. 1925, sec. 7, p. 10, col. 7.

future ages, Thomas Paine is the least appreciated, the most misunderstood and the object of greatest calumny," Edison stated. Though he was intrigued by Paine the inventor, Edison believed that Paine's political teachings should be taught to all school children as a method of restoring him to that measure of accord which approached the measure of his gifts.⁴⁹ J. B. Elliott in the same issue wrote that it was gratifying to see the changes in public opinion that had taken place in the city and state of New York since 1809.⁵⁰ The final notice of the year appeared in November when G. I. Burch listed thirty-seven reasons why Paine should be in the Hall of Fame.⁵¹

As a possible subject, Paine did not attract a large number of writers for the periodical press in 1926. An essay by historian D. S. Muzzey in the American Review concerned Paine's contribution to American independence, considering the subject under three heads: (1) the preparation of the American mind for independence; (2) the encouragement of the American army and people in winning independence; (3) the justification of American independence through its beneficent influence upon the world at large. Muzzey further claimed that the Monroe Doctrine, whose origins were generally followed back to Washington's Farewell Address, actually had its origin in Common Sense, as did the United States Constitution. Definitely on the team of the Paine

⁴⁹James C. Young, "Edison Speaks for Tom Paine," New York Times, 7 June 1925, sec. 9, p. 1, col. 3.

⁵⁰James B. Elliott, "Changing View of Paine," New York Times, 7 June 1925, sec. 2, p. 4, col. 7.

⁵¹Guy Irving Burch, "Why We Should Honor Paine," New York Times, 22 Nov. 1925, sec. 8, p. 14, col. 1.

adherents, Muzzey concluded by taking the customary swipe at Theodore Roosevelt.⁵²

A somewhat different tack was taken by E. F. Wyatt, writing in The New Republic. Developing a thesis of internationalism, the essayist repeatedly termed Paine the first internationalist, discussed Rights of Man as "a book international in its appeal, international in its sources," flirted with the bizarre belief that "but for this international Englishman the war against Tory England could not have been won," and concluded that Paine was "our first international follower of reason, justice and mercy among the governments of the earth."⁵³

While he admitted that Paine was a much-abused man, Bruce Barton, writing in Collier's, balked at giving any degree of credence to The Age of Reason. It will be remembered that this was the same Bruce Barton who wrote one of the most popular books of the decade, The Man Nobody Knows, a biography of Jesus which interpreted the Nazarene as the founder of modern business, a view consistent with the business values of the Twenties and in the best traditions of that boosterism and supersalesmanship so much deplored by Sinclair Lewis. "But if the Bible sells one single copy less for anything that Thomas Paine ever wrote about or against it, the sales reports do not show it," concluded Barton.⁵⁴

⁵²David S. Muzzey, "Thomas Paine and American Independence," American Review [Bloomington, Ill.], 4(1926), 278-88.

⁵³Edith Franklin Wyatt, "Our First Internationalist," New Republic, 15(1926), 90-92.

⁵⁴"You Can't Kill Truth," Collier's, 24 Apr. 1926, pp. 19, 32, 34.

The old "infidel" specter raised its head once again in 1927 in an article entitled "Atheism Beckons to Our Youth" by Homer Croy. The first of a series of articles dealing with the spread of atheism in schools and colleges, this number confined itself mainly to describing the newly-formed American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, an organization which, it assumed, revered Paine as a founding father. While the author did not single out Paine for any special vilification, he did note that "his espousal of free-thinking with The Age of Reason alienated most of his friends."⁵⁵ The inclusion of Paine's portrait did more to identify him with the atheists than did the content of the text.

Entitled "The Old Disbeliever," Gilbert Seldes' essay, too, dealt with Paine in terms of the religious issue. Seldes contended, however, that it was not until revivalism swept the country that Paine's reputation became fixed as an arch-enemy of evangelizing churches, and that in championing Paine the free-thinkers were also, in some degree, responsible for the aspersions cast upon him. "Today in the face of Fundamentalism," he wrote, "the need for Paine and Ingersolls is great . . . they mark the struggle between intelligence and benighted superstition."⁵⁶

And, finally, an unidentified reporter referred to Paine as "the Anglo-American philosophical and political writer" in a New York Times account of an auction sale of a Paine letter.⁵⁷

⁵⁵"Atheism Beckons to Our Youth," World's Work, 54(1927), 18-26.

⁵⁶"The Old Disbeliever," New Republic, 52(1927), 124-25.

⁵⁷"\$1700 for Paine Work," New York Times, 17 May 1928, p. 27, col. 5.

Anthologies, Literary Histories And
Literary Criticism

The tendency on the part of anthologists and literary historians to minimize the importance of the literature of the Colonial period continued to be exhibited throughout the decade of the 1920's. Although several influential critics called attention in forceful terms to the neglected state in which this literature languished, their calls were not to have any decided effect until the 1930's ushered in a surge of interest in American literature, especially that of the Colonial period, heretofore a largely unexplored field.

Throughout the Twenties the most popular anthologies of the preceding years, such as those of Pace and Metcalf, were reissued or revised and offered as new editions. As far as Paine was concerned, however, the estimates remained unchanged. For example, W. J. Long's American Literature, originally published in 1913 and cited in the preceding chapter, was reissued in 1923 and contained the same four-page treatment of Paine, the same judgments, and the same censure against The Age of Reason for being "ill-judged and ill-written," as did the original account. Numerous anthologies of literature of the western world, a fairly new type of collection aimed at the college textbook market, came out during this period, but Paine was rarely included even in those few having a section devoted to the literature of revolution. One notable exception was Literature of the World: An Introductory Survey, edited by W. R. Richardson and J. M. Owen. With a stated purpose of presenting "in straightforward language a brief study of the literature of the major nations," the editors devoted three pages to the American Revolutionary period, and in those three

pages Paine merited three sentences. They are as follows: "Another writer of invaluable service, especially during the war, was Thomas Paine. The ill-judged attacks upon his 'infidelity' have become a mere echo of long ago. His two pamphlets entitled 'Common Sense' and 'The Crisis' won to the American cause thousands of adherents in a peculiarly discouraging period of the war." While the editors limited their remarks to "the essential facts that everyone should know . . .," the judgment made concerning Paine's reputation was perhaps a bit optimistic.⁵⁸ John Drinkwater's 1924 Outline of Literature made no mention of Paine in any of its three volumes.⁵⁹ The revised edition, which did not appear until 1950, accorded him a bare mention in the chapter devoted to the New England writers; that edition, however, was not published in America.⁶⁰

One of the most widely-used literary histories of the 1920's was The Cambridge History of American Literature, whose three volumes had been published during the years 1917-1921. Reprinted five times between 1918 and 1927, the series had been contributed to by some of America's foremost scholars. As might be expected, Paine was not overlooked in this work, though the estimates offered were cautions and occasionally slightly denigrative: at one point he was referred to as a "hack-writer" and elsewhere as a "firebrand." However, the essential judgments on Paine were delivered in the chapter devoted to political

⁵⁸ William R. Richardson and Jesse M. Owen, eds., Literature of the World: An Introductory Survey (Boston: Ginn, 1922), pp. v, 474.

⁵⁹ Outline of Literature, 3 vols. (New York: Putnam's, 1924).

⁶⁰ Outline of Literature, rev. ed. by Horace Shipp (London: Newnes, 1950), p. 562.

writings. Consisting more or less of standard comments concerning the contribution of Common Sense toward the final break, the two paragraphs made no mention of Paine's career beyond the war-time Crisis pamphlets.⁶¹

From the standpoint of Colonial literature, one of the most significant anthologies of the period was Prescott and Nelson's Prose and Poetry of the Revolution, published in 1925. In the Introduction the editors dealt with the problem previously mentioned, that is, the neglect of the early literature by anthologists. They attacked the prevailing attitude that this literature was not worth reproducing because so much of it was imitative of English models and was not literature anyway because it was largely political on the grounds that the literature of the period lay so close to its history that the two became practically one and that the political or Revolutionary writings constituted the greater bulk and the greater merit of all that produced. Because critics did not consider the political writings as literature, Prescott and Nelson maintained, they could not see that the ideas, style, and treatment were fresh.⁶² This Introduction has been dealt with in some detail because it foreshadowed and, in some degree, was responsible for the great amount of attention that would be given Colonial literature in the next decade. The consideration of Paine consisted of an account, principally biographical, of some 450 words and a selection of Paine's best-known writings. The Editors, while

⁶¹William Peterfield Trent, et al., The Cambridge History of American Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1917-1921), I, 77, 123, 140-41, 144-45.

⁶²Frederick C. Prescott and John H. Nelson, Prose and Poetry of the Revolution (New York: Crowell, 1925), p. viii.

generally favorable, did not attempt to gloss over what they held to be Paine's shortcomings. He was, they held, "often coarse and abusive." After terming him "an invaluable and, on the whole, ill-repaid servant of the Revolutionary cause . . .," they concluded that Paine's style was revolutionary: "The style, like the ideas, of his pamphlets marks a revolution; it throws off the dignity and formality of the eighteenth century and becomes democratic,--simple, vigorous, colloquial, and direct."⁶³

The definitive work of the decade--definitive in terms of criticism of American literature--was V. L. Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought, published in 1927 and destined to rank as a monument of scholarship. Parrington, a professor with an established reputation at the University of Washington, reinterpreted American literature from the beginnings to 1920 in realistic socio-economic terms and from a liberal agrarian point of view. He was especially concerned with tracing the course of certain European intellectual backgrounds which, he maintained, had given impulse and form to our native idealisms, and he followed the "broad path of American political, economic, and social development" to account for the genesis and development in American letters of certain germinal ideas that have come to be reckoned traditionally American.⁶⁴

Parrington, too, delivered in his Introduction pointed comments concerning the neglect of our early literature. This was due, he

⁶³Ibid., pp. 67-68.

⁶⁴Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, 3 vols. in 1 (New York: Harcourt, 1927), p. iii.

thought, to exaggerated regard for esthetic values and too much influence by the genteel tradition, whose critics "have sought daintier fare in the form of mediocre verse . . . no other path [than that through the Colonial period], "he concluded, "leads so directly and intimately into the heart of those old days as the thorny path of their theological and political controversies. . . . The foundations of later America were laid in vigorous polemics. . . ."65

The principal treatment of Paine was found in Volume I in a section labeled "Tom Paine: Republican Pamphleteer." Given Parrington's liberal bias, we can logically deduce that he would deal with Paine in a most favorable fashion; and, in fact, his consideration was in large measure responsible for the sympathetic appraisals which appeared in the 1930's. Concerned primarily with Paine's political and social philosophy in Common Sense, Rights of Man and Agrarian Justice, Parrington numerous times noted the essential similarity between the fundamental beliefs of Paine and Jefferson. In subsequent volumes he noted that Alexander Stephens' Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States rested on a doctrine which Paine and Jefferson had derived from the French; that Channing's espousal of pacifism fell short of Paine's analysis of the economic and dynastic sources of war; that Whitman, because he was a born rebel, could understand Paine; that Rights of Man and Henry George's Progress and Poverty are complementary works, "applying to related fields the spirit released to the modern world by the great thinkers of Revolutionary France."66 Having

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

⁶⁶Ibid., II, 88, 342; II, 73, 132.

labeled Paine "the first modern internationalist," Parrington saw him as the victim of an "odium theologicum et politicum, without parallel in our history," but noted that "the years are bringing a larger measure of justice to him." The essential value of the author's estimate, however, lay in the comprehensive, yet lucid, comments on the political theory underlying Paine's principal polemical pieces. He concluded that Common Sense was "a notable contribution" to the new philosophy of republicanism, that Rights of Man was "the most influential English contribution to the revolutionary movement," and that Agrarian Justice was "the ripest product of Paine's speculations on the relation of government to the individual."⁶⁷

Finally, it should be pointed out that Parrington, unlike Howard Mumford Jones, regarded as idle and unnecessary any attempt to trace to their sources the major ideas of Paine's political philosophy. Paine, as Parrington viewed him absorbed ideas like a sponge; "he was so wholly a child of his age that the intellectual processes of the age were no other than his own."⁶⁸

Histories And Works Of Political Science

As in the previous period, Paine's reputation among the writers of histories, biographers of historical personages, and political theoreticians was sustained from 1921-1929 at a level of what might be termed "restrained approval." Generally free of the fluctuations from adulation to aspersion so obvious in the periodical press, the estimations noted in the following sampling of the period were derived from

⁶⁷Ibid., I, 327, 334, 337.

⁶⁸Ibid., I, 341.

books used by history students at nearly every level in the American educational system.

Early in the decade Canadian historian George M. Wrong published Washington and His Comrades in Arms: A Chronicle of the War of Independence (vol. 12 in The Chronicles of America Series), which dealt briefly with Paine. Wrong stated the principal arguments of Common Sense and labeled Paine the individual who "fanned the fire into unquenchable flames."⁶⁹ Scant attention, and that not very favorable, was accorded Paine by American Academy of Arts and Letters member Nicholas Murray Butler in his study Building the American Nation. Noting the criticism to which Washington was subjected during the last years of his Presidency, he wrote that Paine "had the bad taste and the bad manners to express doubt as to whether the world would decide Washington to be an apostate or an imposter."⁷⁰ S. E. Forman's Advanced American History, on the other hand, while it devoted only a page to Paine, called attention to the tremendous influence of Common Sense and quoted from it to illustrate the intensity of its sentiments.⁷¹

University of Wisconsin history professor Carl Russell Fish in 1925 published a students' history which briefly outlined in one

⁶⁹Washington and His Comrades in Arms: A Chronicle of the War of Independence, vol. 12 of The Chronicles of America Series, ed. Allen Johnson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), pp. 74-75.

⁷⁰Building the American Nation: An Essay of Interpretation (New York: Scribner's, 1923), p. 88.

⁷¹Advanced American History, rev. ed. (New York & London: Century, 1924), p. 130.

paragraph the arguments presented in Common Sense.⁷² Bourne and Benton's American History, a text for use in high schools, accorded Paine only brief mention along with other pens of the Revolution and quoted a few lines from The Crisis.⁷³ William H. Mace's American History, also intended primarily for secondary school usage, gave scant attention to Paine, mentioning Common Sense in connection with separation from Britain and The Crisis as helping tide the Revolution over the bleak winter at Valley Forge.⁷⁴ D. S. Muzzey, a figure previously mentioned, gave a substantial paragraph to Common Sense in An American History. "It is doubtful," he wrote, "whether any other printed work in all American history has had a greater influence than Paine's Common Sense."⁷⁵

In his 1926 biography of Jefferson, Albert Jay Nock only referred to Paine as having condemned Washington for having turned the country over to monopolists and speculators.⁷⁶ Similarly, Princeton's T. J. Wertenbaker omitted mention of Paine entirely in the chapter on the Revolution in his history, noting only the pamphlet Public Good in a consideration of the western lands policy of 1783.⁷⁷ W. E. Woodward, whose personal interest in Paine was greater than that of most

⁷²History of America (New York: American Book, 1925), pp. 142-43.

⁷³Henry Eldridge Bourne and Elbert Jay Benton, American History (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1925), p. 133.

⁷⁴American History (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1925), pp. 78, 84.

⁷⁵An American History, rev. ed. (Boston: Ginn, 1925), p. 113.

⁷⁶Jefferson (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926), p. 212.

⁷⁷Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The American People: A History (New York: Scribner's, 1926), p. 107.

historians of this period, gave considerable attention to him in his 1926 biography of Washington. Taking the lead of Bradford, he termed Paine "an intellectual desperado of the first rank," whose Revolutionary writings belonged to the literature of desperate men, an eighteenth-century Lenin, and compared him to Voltaire. He expounded at some length on Paine's method of meeting prejudice with prejudice, of not writing above the heads of the crowd: "His writings were born of grime and dust. His method in Common Sense was to treat the claims of the British as if they were preposterous assumptions beneath the level of consideration." Woodward termed Paine's work the principal influence in dissolving conservative sentiment on the idea of separation, and he provided a generous handful of grist for future mills when he summarily concluded that "destitution, aggressiveness, intellect, sexual impotence, loneliness, and sensitiveness went into the composition of this rebel."⁷⁸

Charles A. and Mary Beard, two of the more important historians of the twentieth century, gave several notices to Paine in their History of the United States. They mentioned him as "a bold and eloquent pamphleteer [who] broke in upon the hesitating public with a program for absolute independence, without fears and without apologies," emphasized the uniqueness of Common Sense and summarized its principal arguments, and stressed the importance of The Crisis series in arousing the national spirit. Further on, in discussing the French Revolution,

⁷⁸ William E. Woodward, George Washington: The Image and the Man (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), pp. 281-84, 451.

they summarized the main parts of Rights of Man, regarding it as one of Paine's most important works.⁷⁹

Perhaps the most positive appraisal of 1926 was that found in F. W. Hirst's Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson. After calling Common Sense "one of the most powerful and influential pamphlets ever published in the English language," Hirst proceeded to compare Burke's Reflections and Paine's Rights of Man: "Burke's argument against reform," he concluded, "is a flimsy structure easily shattered by the plain prose and remorseless logic of his opponent." Elsewhere he reprinted Jefferson's letter to his grandson Francis Eppes, giving his opinion of Paine as an honest man, an advocate of liberty and a writer unexcelled in "'ease and familiarity of style, in perspicuity of expression, happiness of elucidation, and in simple and unassuming language.'"⁸⁰

In his 1927 biography of George Washington, Rupert Hughes called attention to Common Sense as having changed Washington's thoughts toward separation, and he devoted several admiring pages to The Crisis, noting that "many condescend today toward these essays because they are old and familiar. . . . Paine's line of argument," he continued, "would hit the farmer and the villager as common sense. His music would beautify their day. His eloquence would make them stand up straight and feel that they were fighting for something worth famine,

⁷⁹History of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 103-04, 115, 175.

⁸⁰Francis W[rigley] Hirst, Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 104, 274, 529-30.

nakedness and shame, and death."⁸¹ Few other biographers of Washington were to give as much attention to Paine as did Hughes.

High school students a year later were reading a new text by W. M. West which called Common Sense a "daring and forceful argument for independence," a publication which in clarion tone "spoke out what the community hailed at once as its own unspoken thought." And a few pages later: "In the darkest days . . . Thomas Paine thrilled America with The Crisis. This pamphlet was a mighty factor in filling the levies and dispelling despondency."⁸²

As the decade neared its close, the appearance of several notable works insured that Paine, both as a literary and a historical figure, would command more respectful treatment in 1930 than he had in 1920. Gilbert Chinard's 1929 work on Jefferson pointed out several times the friendship of Jefferson and Paine and did not try to slight the regard that the Virginian expressed on numerous occasions for Paine. He called attention to the similarity of their views by admitting that he had even in an earlier work mistakenly attributed a document to Jefferson written by Paine.⁸³ Similarly, Bernard Fay called Paine Franklin's "disciple and protégé" in his biography of Dr. Franklin. Paine, he continued, was "a self-taught and eloquent man" by whose victory with Common Sense "Franklin secured the domination of public opinion for

⁸¹George Washington: The Rebel and the Patriot of 1762-1777 (New York: William Morrow, 1927), pp. 353, 548-51.

⁸²Willis Mason West, The American People: A New History for High Schools (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1928), pp. 150-54.

⁸³Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism 2nd ed. rev. (1929; rpt. Ann Arbor Paperbacks: University of Michigan Press, 1957), pp. 82, 227-28, 258-61, 390-91.

Congress, and Paine took the profits."⁸⁴ S. E. Morison, who was to become one of the century's most respected American historians, in 1929 spoke of Common Sense as "the first important republican tract to be issued in America, the first to turn colonial resentment against George III, and the first to present cogent arguments for independence."⁸⁵ Even the recalcitrant Catholic hard line toward Paine seemed to be softening somewhat, for in R. J. Purcell's The American Revolution, a text written especially for Catholic high schools, academies, and junior colleges, Paine was accorded a brief treatment unmarred by any mention of his religious opinions. The claim of the Foreword that "there is a refreshingly modern viewpoint . . . [and] a remarkable lack of bias" was indeed true, so far as Paine was concerned.⁸⁶

Perhaps the most significant work of political science written during the era was W. A. Dunning's A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer, which appeared in 1926. Professor Dunning dealt at length with Paine in the chapter devoted to the American and French Revolutions, calling him "a remarkable blend of French and American ideas." He wrote further: "Paine was indeed primarily and essentially an agitator and a pamphleteer rather than a detached and systematic philosopher; but he had a wonderful faculty of both thought and expression, and his keen wit and vivid phrases caught and fixed the

⁸⁴ Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), pp. 376, 393-94.

⁸⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution, 2nd ed. (1929; rpt. Galaxy Books: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁸⁶ The American Revolution (Boston: Ginn, 1929), pp. xi-xii, 191.

doctrine of the revolutions often much more effectively than the weightier and deeper analysis of mightier intellects." Dunning continued with a lengthy analysis of Common Sense and Rights of Man, which he saw as presenting "in forceful terms the elementary principles of a constructive political philosophy." He outlined Paine's position on the function of government, the nature of a republic, the nature of a constitution and provisions for its amendment and change, and his conception of law.⁸⁷ Like most of the works considered in this sampling, Dunning's study showed no prejudices attributable to the traditional hostility of the orthodox; Paine was, on the other hand, examined solely on the basis of his contributions to the field of political theory and Dunning's regard, while it could not be termed reverential, certainly could be called deferential.

Summary

The professional nostalgists of movies and television would have us picture the 1920's as a hectic, carefree era, America on a hedonistic binge of vast proportion, "sheiks" wearing raccoon coats and carrying hip flasks, "flappers" dancing the Charleston and drinking bathtub gin. Who would ever want to write about such a figure as Thomas Paine in a time of such immense vitality as this? Quite a large number of people did, a fact which suggests that this conventional characterization of a turbulent and complex era is shallow and certainly exaggerated.

Concerning Paine's reputation in the 1921-1929 decade, we can draw the following conclusions: (1) Because a conservative temper prevailed

⁸⁷ William Archibald Dunning, A History of Political Theories From Rousseau to Spencer (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 110-16.

throughout the postwar decade there was little inclination among writers to deal with Paine as a social critic--one notable exception was V. L. Parrington--, perhaps because the expanding economy deceived most Americans into a confident belief that an actual end of poverty and want was in sight and because social criticism and radical ideas tended, throughout the Twenties, to be frowned upon as disturbing to the formula. (2) Paine's position as an increasingly respectable figure in literature was attested to by the several editions of his writings which appeared during this period: those of Carl Van Doren and A. W. Peach were significant because of their balanced and well-written introductions. (3) Too, the period saw publication of several biographies; of those, the popular biography of M. A. Best received numerous and generally favorable reviews in spite of its uncritical pro-Paine bias. (4) While Paine received more notice in the periodical press than in book-length studies, one such study, Bradford's Damaged Souls, which viewed Paine as a rebel who utilized destruction rather than construction as a method of achieving his idealistic goals, elicited a good deal of response from article writers, who, in varying degrees, refuted, imitated, or elaborated his thesis. The two extremes of adoration and aspersion continued to be seen and the Catholic press maintained its traditionally hard line. Overall, however, The Age of Reason tended to become less an issue in the periodical literature. (5) While compilers of anthologies and collections continued to skimp the Colonial period and sometimes omitted mention of Paine altogether, a few authoritative voices began to call attention to this neglect. V. L. Parrington, foremost critic of the decade, produced an estimation

notable for its praise of Paine's political and social philosophy.

(6) A sampling of American history texts used at Almost all levels in the educational system indicated that Paine continued to receive a generally "restrained approval," although as the period advanced the estimates tended to become somewhat more commendatory. Throughout the decade, critical opinions of historians and political theoreticians tended to be carefully considered, carefully framed, and limited to Paine's most significant writings of the Revolutionary period. Seldom was any note of effusiveness or extreme abuse detected.

IV. A NEW DEAL FOR THOMAS PAINE: 1930-1941

From 1898, the year which saw the first American literature course offered at Harvard, until 1928, the founding date of the journal American Literature, specialists in the literature of America were rather much the academic stepchildren--members of the family, but not quite accorded all the benefits of the familial blessing. All that was destined to change, however. The general stirring of interest in American literature which took place in the 1920's developed during the decade of the 1930's into a movement whose critical impulse triggered the production of what has since amounted to an unceasing stream of books and articles exploring almost every conceivable aspect of our literature. The Depression years, though barren in many respects, were, as far as our national literature is concerned, a bountiful time indeed. And Paine, like so many other figures of the early period, was to receive greater attention than heretofore had been accorded him.

Editions

The first edition of Paine's works to include any substantial critical introduction did not appear until 1937. James S. Allen's frequent use of the words "bourgeois," "masses," references to "manifestoes" of various sorts in his introductory essay to Thomas Paine: Selections from his Writings indicated that, in some respects, his evaluation was to be as doctrinaire as Paine himself. Strongly socialist in outlook, he wrote fervidly of Paine's advocacy of world

revolution for the attainment of democracy, of his "bourgeois-democratic internationalism," of his "direct challenge to the basic principles of capitalistic society."

Opening with the statement that "the present-day avalanche of anti-democratic, fascist destruction sets off in sharp relief the full stature of this great revolutionary democrat," Allen established his view of Paine as a determined fighter in the vanguard of those millions marching to a new way of life brought about by the bourgeois world revolution. His characterizing remarks about Paine's major works reflected this view: Common Sense he called "the manifesto of the American Revolution"; Rights of Man he denoted the "political credo of a whole epoch of democratic revolutions"; the deism set forth in The Age of Reason he termed "the counterpart in the field of philosophy and religion of the bourgeois revolution in society." His unqualified enthusiasm for Paine's republicanism sometimes led him to exaggerate the facts, as when he declared that on his return to America Paine was "received with open arms by Jefferson and the democrats."

Allen concluded his rather doctrinaire exposition by admonishing the reader with the charge that it is the "economic royalists of the present age who have perpetuated the old royalist conspiracy against him," and that Paine's writings and his historic role should today be popularized by Communists is a "commentary on the ease--and pleasure--with which the bourgeoisie forgets its greatest heroes."¹

¹Thomas Paine: Selections from his Writings, With an Introduction by James S. Allen (New York: International, 1937), pp. 1-24.

In 1939 Harry Hayden Clark, of the University of Wisconsin, published Six New Letters of Thomas Paine, putting forth in the introduction the unusual view that Paine, contrary to the popular view, was not a "rebel," hostile to all restraint, but had much in common with the conservatives in the period before the French Revolution. The six letters reprinted were hitherto uncollected newspaper pieces in which Paine had urged the citizens of Rhode Island to fall into line with the other states by supporting the proposed national tariff and the national revolution. While Conway had referred to the letters in a footnote, he had not included them in his edition of the Works.

Having boldly entitled the introduction "Thomas Paine the Conservative," Clark forthrightly stated that, while Bradford summed up the usual interpretation of Paine--a rebel--, his own opinion was that Paine's work in the period of the Revolution had "considerably more in common with those who were later regarded as conservatives than has generally been supposed." To support his stand, Clark cited as evidence Paine's connection during the early period with such conservative Federalists as Morris and Hamilton, his opposition to paper money as a device for cheating creditors, his advocacy of a stronger federal union, his agreement with the majority of Federalists on the issues of Christianity and the Bible. Clark closed the essay by restating his thesis and pointing out that "the master theme in the letters is the crucial need for a coercive union as the foundation of our 'greatness' and the safeguard of prosperity."²

²Six New Letters of Thomas Paine, With an Introduction and Notes by Harry Hayden Clark (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), pp. 1-32.

Clark's departure from the familiar Bradford view was not everywhere accepted. Reviewing the book in American Literature, Frank Smith saw this new interpretation as open to fundamental question. Clark, he wrote, might have made a stronger case by examining in more detail Paine's activities in 1785-1786, particularly his newspaper letters, "where he talks like a federalist against paper money and provincialism." Instead of seeing Paine as alternately conservative and radical, Smith would see him as "a consistent equalitarian, an embattled philosopher in the cause of humanity against all privilege whether of the few or the many." Leon Howard, reviewing in Modern Language Notes, wrote that the term "conservative" is meaningless when talking of institutions while they were still untried innovations, and he further accused Clark of "a sacrifice of historical perception to the love of classification which approaches obscurantism." The letters, he concluded, were of considerably less interest and significance "than Professor Clark's introduction would have us believe them to be." While he conceded that much of Clark's argument was correct, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., saw a distinct difference between temperamental conservatism and political conservatism. Fundamentally in accord with Bradford, Schlesinger pointed out that when Paine was agreeing with Hamilton and Morris, he was agreeing not with conservatives but with dissenters from the established order, and that he no longer followed them when they became Federalists in the developed sense of the word.³

³The reviews of Six New Letters of Thomas Paine, with an Introduction by Harry Hayden Clark cited in the foregoing paragraph are here listed in the order of their appearance in the text. American Literature, 11(1940), 306-07; Modern Language Notes, 55(1940), 400-01; New England Quarterly, 13(1940), 377-78.

Paine's interest in the underdog, his preoccupation with economic problems, and his active indignation over injustices of any kind found a modern counterpart in John Dos Passos, a popular writer of the 1930's whose work sometimes veered far to the left. In 1940 Dos Passos selected what he considered to be the essence of Paine's thought from Common Sense, Rights of Man, American Crisis, and Agrarian Justice and published it as The Living Thoughts of Tom Paine.

The forty-four-page essay which prefaced the selections, while primarily biographical exhibited Dos Passos' characteristic accuracy of detail by incorporating numerous letters of Paine and his contemporaries, some quoted in part and others in full. Not only did this lend an air of authenticity to the essay but also it tended to verify the author's particular picture of Paine, for the letters were carefully selected to substantiate his assertions. A conscious craftsman, Dos Passos utilized a six-part structure in the introduction, the parts, with the exception of the first, broadly corresponding to the discernible periods in Paine's career. The first part, in some respects the most interesting, clearly established Dos Passos' strong marxist bent; a brief exposition--a harangue, almost--about English tyranny during the reign of George III, with a strong emphasis on the absolutist nature of the government, painted in the background colors of the picture in which Paine was to be the dominant figure. Part two, which carried Paine up to the writing of Common Sense, emphasized the idea that rigid social stratification and the governmental check of the growth of the middle class accounted for Paine's failure before coming to America. Also, Dos Passos maintained that Paine's individuality in religion and

republicanism in politics was due, in large measure, to the moral climate of dissenting tradespeople and artisans in which he had been brought up. Part three, the period of the Revolution, revolved around the idea that republican governmental theories were the basis of agitation against the "royal moneybags and the rotten borough system" in England and that in Paine's writings, for the first time since the days of the Commonwealth, these doctrines were put down in popular form. Part four, the Rights of Man period, stressed Paine's inability to fit in, even though libertarian ideas were at that time fashionable in England. In part five Dos Passos delivered a thoroughgoing denunciation of Gouverneur Morris, whom he pictured as actuated by partisan motives and the basest kind of selfinterest. While he saw Paine as "the unofficial ambassador of American republicans and British radicals," he depicted Morris as having devoted his life to keep the revolutionary disease from spreading to America." Dos Passos in part six tied Paine to the present day by pointing to Agrarian Justice as "a foreshadowing of recent governmental efforts to spread out income." He deplored the defamation to which Paine was subjected during his last years and following his death, noting that "Hitler's campaign against the Jews is the modern counterpart in filth and scurrility of the campaign of the respectable of England against the infidels and freethinkers." This "war without quarter," he concluded, kept the republicans in America from getting the full use of Paine's great experience with events and his talents as a political commentator.⁴

⁴The Living Thoughts of Tom Paine, ed. John Dos Passos, A Fawcett Premier Book (1940; rpt. New York: Fawcett World Library, n. d.), pp. 7-51.

As we read through this easily comprehended introductory essay, Paine emerges from Dos Passos' pen as a fearless, courageous man, a man who held strong beliefs and expressed them in clarion tones for the common people, regardless of the opinions of others or conditions around him and with no thought of the consequences for himself, a man whose temper and train of thought did not always match the popular mind--a man, in fact, much like Dos Passos himself.

Less significant editions of Paine's works published in the 1930-1941 period included the W. H. Wise Company's Works volume,⁵ the National Home Library Foundation's Complete and Unabridged Selections,⁶ Dutton's reprint of the 1915 edition of Rights of Man,⁷ and the Thinker's Library Series edition of Rights of Man and The Age of Reason.⁸

Biographies

George Creel's Tom Paine--Liberty Bell, published in 1932, was the first of several biographies of Paine to appear in the 1930-1941 period. One more in the lengthening list of "popular" lives, the book dealt primarily with that phase of Paine's career which saw the production of his most well-known revolutionary and religious writings. A formal biography by no means, Creel's book was not written for advanced students of American thought and was totally unencumbered by any of the

⁵The Works of Thomas Paine: His Epoch-Making Writings on Religion, Human Rights, and International Relations (New York: Wise, 1934).

⁶Complete and Unabridged Selections from the Writings of Thomas Paine (Washington, D. C.: National Home Library Foundation, 1935).

⁷Rights of Man (1915; rpt. New York: Dutton, 1935).

⁸Rights of Man, ed. Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner with Introduction by G. D. H. Cole, Thinker's Library Series (New York: Watts, 1937); Age of Reason (New York: Watts, 1938).

apparatus of scholarship. Creel, as R. W. Bolwell noted in his review in American Literature, was an able propagandist himself and, had he chosen to do so, could have offered a valuable study of Paine's pamphlets as specimens of the art of propaganda. He did not, however, choose to do so; rather, he "expended his talents in propagandizing Paine."⁹

From the short opening chapter, entitled "America's Ishmael," to the equally brief closing chapter, "Last Days," the reader encountered no evidence of critical perception, no new insights, only a steady stream of unremitting adulation. Exhibiting, like Paine, a penchant for the well-turned phrase, Creel labored to develop vivid and striking patterns of imagery. Especially did he like fire imagery, visualizing Paine as having "lighted a fire that bathed the land in flame, burning away moldy traditions and inherited submissions"; the Crisis pamphlet became "a burning arrow that went from hand to hand"; Rights of Man a fire that "burned higher and higher, the blaze consuming evil and outworn institutions." His metaphors, too, were grandiose, as for example, the "tidal wave of slander so huge, so overwhelming. . . ." Those contemporaries of Paine who opposed him received Creel's basest contempt. Gouverneur Morris, he wrote, "purred against the knees of power" while Paine fought for justice and liberty. Not satisfied with labeling him a monarchist and arch-plotter, he finished Morris off as "a lewd dandy, tittering with excitement over every sidelong glance from some titled courtesan." The final chapter of this extremely partisan book was

⁹Robert W. Bolwell, rev. of Tom Paine--Liberty Bell, by George Creel, American Literature, 5(1933-1934), 284-85.

given over to refuting the claims that Paine in his old age was slovenly, miserly, and squalid, and ended with a call to right the wrongs done by the past, to erase the "black stain of a republic's ingratitude," to end the shame of bigotry.¹⁰

Of the two reviews of this book worth noting, that of Bolwell has already been mentioned. Creel's main purpose, as Bolwell saw it, was to present him to "those who have never heard of Paine or who know of him dimly through a century-old haze of partisan prejudice," and he concluded that the book was just one more effort to salvage Paine from his detractors.¹¹ The review in the New York Times, on the other hand, was almost as eulogistic of Paine as was Creel himself. Instead of censuring the author for his partisan attitude, the anonymous reviewer wrote that "it seems only fair to give one defender the privilege of being as heated as he likes in his attempt to reconstruct a badly shattered good name." Furthermore, he cautioned the reader not to expect to find "the judicial attitude in his pages. His style, his feeling, his use of words, his point of view throughout, are all that of the ardent defender sincerely and profoundly convinced of the justice of his cause."¹²

The two-hundredth anniversary of Paine's birth was commemorated in America in 1937 by the publication of Hesketh Pearson's biography Tom

¹⁰ Tom Paine--Liberty Bell (Boston: Meador, 1932), pp. 1, 10, 86-87, 101-02, 173.

¹¹ Bolwell, pp. 284-85.

¹² "Tom Paine, Pioneer in the Cause of Freedom," rev. of Tom Paine--Liberty Bell, by George Creel, New York Times Book Review, 3 Apr. 1932, p. 10.

Paine: Friend of Mankind. In an effort to impart something unique to his Life, Pearson prefaced his book with a note stating that he would write of Paine "primarily as a man, not the founder of a faith or the formulator of a political philosophy . . . [for] human beings are much more interesting than their causes or their beliefs."¹³ Like Creel, Pearson cast his work in the now-familiar "popular" mold, aimed at giving the lay reader what he considered to be a reasonably true and, at the same time, entertaining narrative. And, like the other Lives of this cast, Pearson's book utilized no documentation or other "scholarly apparatus" that might detract from its popular appeal.

To some extent, Pearson's book was successful. It did offer a fast-paced and lively account of the important episodes in Paine's life, together with the more well-known passages from his principal writings. For the general public, largely unacquainted with Paine, it may have been entirely satisfactory. But for the student this book, as Frank Smith so clearly pointed out, "obscures old questions and leads to no fresh horizons."¹⁴ One of the most glaring critical faults of the work was the freedom with which the author handled sources. He consistently stated as matters of fact assertions which previous biographers had carefully qualified as logical assumptions or had noted as questionable for lack of proof positive. For example, in chapter one Pearson stated that Paine's first wife died in childbirth, that he never consummated his second marriage and even occupied a bed apart from his wife, that

¹³ Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind (New York and London: Harper, 1937), p. ix.

¹⁴ Frank Smith, rev. of Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind, by Hesketh Pearson, American Literature, 9(1937-1938), 261.

he was a hack writer in London before coming to America. These assertions, while they may possibly be true, have not yet been proved; Pearson, however, delivered them as established facts. Another basic fault of the book lay in its tendency, in spite of the stated aim of avoiding "idolatry and idol-breaking,"¹⁵ toward hero-worship. One reviewer even accused Pearson of "out-Conwaying Conway."¹⁶ On the other hand, he did not hesitate to accept some of the more derogatory legends, derived principally from the Cheetham-Chalmers school, about Paine's personal life. The old stories of drunkenness, sexual irregularity, and filth were delivered as fact. Thus, a new Paine emerged from the book's pages: "half-Christ, half-Caliban," he was dubbed by reviewer Smith.¹⁷

The reviews of Pearson's book which were examined indicated that the critics, by and large, demanded a more discriminating literary dish than had been served up. According to John Preston Hyde, the book's chief fault was "what Gertrude Stein has called literary shoe-making, cut to fit a foot which may be a publisher's desire for a life of Tom Paine on the occasion of his centenary, or an author's reflection that it's about time he wrote another biography." Furthermore, Hyde continued, Pearson lacked a thesis, found no fascination in his subject, and had no understanding of the times or circumstances in which Paine lived. Writing in the Saturday Review, Crane Brinton called for a "solid, large-scale biography" which would explore through documents and monographs the controversial parts of Paine's career. "The writer

¹⁵Ibid., p. 260.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

of such a book," he continued, "ought to know something about the sociology of revolutions; but a knowledge of human beings and of historical method would do." Brinton devoted a long concluding paragraph of his review to Paine's reputation, which, he noted, was itself worth a book. After assigning him a rank as one of the fathers of our country, Brinton turned his attention to Paine's present status, still considerably below that rank. In order to be permanent heroes, Brinton contended, revolutionists must die young in glorious failure, or live ripely on the success of their revolution--that is, turn conservative. Paine did neither. Writing in the Nation, J. W. Krutch faulted Pearson for failing to place Paine in the larger context of the eighteenth-century "enlightenment." He did concede, however, that the book was "pleasantly readable and informative." Frances Winwar, reviewing in the New York Times, showed a basic lack of knowledge about Paine when she spoke of Pearson's "searchlight of sound scholarship," and his presentation of the facts without "mincing words." Had she known more about Paine she would perhaps have seen that those "facts" were not always just that. The reviewer in Time opted to write about Paine's accomplishments in a generally biographical way rather than review the book. He did note, however, that Pearson ascribed Paine's notoriety to political, not religious, causes and that, too, his personal makeup was partly responsible. The review in The Catholic World proved that 1937 was still open season on Paine, at least as far as the Catholic press was concerned. Like previous articles in this journal, the review merely served as an excuse to mount a labored attack on the personality of Paine. It stressed his "mediocre" education, noted that he "helped

the revolutionary cause by his snappy, popular tracts," called Rights of Man a "diatribe," the letter to Washington a "brandy-inspired document," and The Age of Reason an "unscholarly journalistic tract against Christianity . . . borrowed from the French Encyclopedists," and, in conclusion, gave truth a twist by stating that he "drank himself to death." The reader was to search in vain for a review of Pearson's book.¹⁸

The most disjointed, partisan, and inept biography to appear in the period was the issue of S. M. Berthold, brought forth in 1938 under the title Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal. This bastard-biography--and such appellation it justly deserves--carried the reader on a slapdash excursion over the main facts of Paine's life, gave no new information, and everywhere was colored by the author's violent prejudices. Undocumented and unbibliographed--and, above all, uncritical--the work shamelessly eulogized Paine, as Berthold, with singleminded determination, attempted to secure for his subject the lofty, nay, the "exalted position his unique and extraordinary services so richly deserve." Similar to the efforts of some of the more ardent of the Paine admirers of earlier times, the book evidenced Berthold's strong animus toward all who, he thought, had slighted Paine. His dislike of organized religion was evident when he jibed at "the gentle Quakers who could hate as well

¹⁸The following citations are to reviews of Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind, by Hesketh Pearson, and follow their order of appearance in the text. John Preston Hyde, "Biographies to Order," New Republic, 91(1937), 258-59; Crane Brinton, "Paine on a Pedestal," Saturday Review, 6 Feb. 1937, p. 7; Joseph Wood Krutch, "A Believing Thomas," Nation, 144(1937), 157-58; Frances Winwar, "Liberty's Champion, Tom Paine," New York Times Book Review, 7 Feb. 1937, pp. 7, 26; "Mankind's Friend," Time, 8 Feb. 1937, pp. 83-84; B. L. C. Catholic World, 145(1937), 379-80.

as the other orthodox churches. . . ." Two brief concluding chapters failed dismally to estimate Paine's position in American literature and to offer a final appreciation. For example, Berthold's primary supposition that Paine did not sign his name to many of his works because "he felt the text of his pamphlets and essays and the contents of his books were of more importance than his name" seems both banal and lacking in critical perception. And to conclude by delivering a sermonette on the state of the world in 1938, denouncing Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini as "more absolute than the monarchs who inspired Paine to his life's work," was not germane to his purpose of formulating an appreciation. The whole of the "appreciation," in fact, was little more than an impassioned appeal to Paine's detractors to throw in the sponge and admit to the author's extravagant claims that Paine had indeed brought liberty to three million souls, founded a nation, broken the bonds of superstition and revealed God.¹⁹

Having thumbed through Berthold's book, even the casual reader is ready to agree with Frank Smith, who, reviewing it in American Literature, called it "a rambling chaos of materials . . . hopelessly mired by a thousand and one of the most elementary sub-freshman errors in punctuation, spelling, wording, proofreading, and sentence structure. Rather compassionately, one feels, Smith appended the final sentence: "Mr. Berthold's only merit lies in his enthusiasm and good intentions." Neither did Charles Lyttle have any good words for the book in his review in Church History. After pointing out instances of the author's

¹⁹S. M. Berthold, Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal (Boston: Meador, 1938), pp. 10, 225, 238, 249, 251.

animus toward organized religion, Lyttle noted that "these are defects enough to mention, without adding to the reproach of ungrammatical sentences in a book which emphasizes Paine's masterly use of the English language." Like the proverbial voice in the wilderness, he concluded by crying out for "some qualified historian, capable of divesting himself from all religious, political, and even social bias," who would provide a life of one whose "memory should not be left to the mercies of inept and partisan eulogists." The only other review which the book received was that by C. G. Woodson in the Journal of Negro History. More of an encomiastic essay than a bona fide review, the short piece praised Paine for advocating liberty "even when it meant the freedom of the Negro," praised Paine's various writings, particularly those that touched upon the issue of slavery, and concluded with a two-paragraph summary of his life. Only in the final sentence did he return in an oblique fashion to Berthold's book, ending on the note that Paine "was really America's first liberal."²⁰

The oft-mentioned Frank Smith reversed roles in 1938 and became the reviewed instead of the reviewer with the publication of his own biography, Thomas Paine: Liberator. Yet another of the spate of Lives aimed at the general reader, Smith's book had much to recommend it: it was carefully researched, though undocumented, and made use of some new material; the prose was clear and readable, unmarred by the slangy tone of Mrs. Best's book; the material was well-proportioned, forcefully

²⁰ The following citations are to reviews of Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal, by S. M. Berthold, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Frank Smith, American Literature, 10(1938-1939), 504-05; Charles Lyttle, Church History, 8(1938), 103-05; C. G. Woodson, Journal of Negro History, 23(1938), 487-89.

presented, and the narrative flow sustained at a fairly fast pace; the situational circle at any given point in the book was widened by the careful establishment of historical perspective, and Paine, though always at the center of the circle, did not necessarily dominate it. On the debit side of the ledger, the book could be faulted at several points. First, its partisan nature was patently obvious; Smith, like the previous popularizers, was unable to achieve that degree of objectivity toward his subject which is requisite to a definitive work. Second, his identification with Paine was so complete that he tended to see events "about as Paine saw them, as a struggle of peoples against tyrants and selfish factions," as R. R. Palmer put it.²¹ As a result, a simplistic "good guys vs. bad guys" view of the American and British in the Revolution gave that section of the book a somewhat grade-schoolish cast. Third, the lack of documentation, bibliography, or index invalidated any scholarly application the book might otherwise have had. Yet, in spite of its shortcomings, a consensus of critical opinion established Smith's biography as the best account of Paine since Conway's study.

For the most part, both the book and its subject received favorable attention from the critics. R. E. Spiller, reviewing in American Literature, noted the difficulty of gaining a just perspective on men whose reputations were involved in bitter controversy in their own day. "It is almost impossible to write about Paine without taking sides for or against the people and issues with which he was involved,"

²¹R. R. Palmer, "Life of Thomas Paine," rev. of Thomas Paine: Liberator, by Frank Smith, Nation, 147(1938), 459.

Spiller wrote. While he judged that Smith's book "adds materially to an appreciation of Paine and gives a certain timeless quality to his cause, without becoming his definitive biography," he concluded that "sympathetic appreciation of Paine is the great strength of this book [and] one-sided condemnation of his antagonists is its weakness." R. R. Palmer found the partisan nature of the biography to be its most detractive aspect. "He weakens his argument by his partiality," he wrote, "for he makes the reader wonder what may be said on the other side." On the positive side, he called the book "an excellent guide to the events of Paine's career." Crane Brinton, writing in the Saturday Review, offered a well-balanced review, pointing out the already noted strengths and weaknesses of the book. He concluded with his own estimation of Paine as the greatest pamphleteer of the Revolution, the ablest publicist of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, but not a great hero or one of the founders of our country. The authority of Herschel Brickell's review in the New York Times was mitigated by his apparently serious statement that the book was "not so finished a piece of literary work as Mary Agnes Best's excellent biography" (an execrable example of the biographer's art). Furthermore, he scored Smith for his "slipshod way of introducing historical characters without even giving their first names or offering other means of identification," and for failing to include bibliography, notes, index, "or even a brief introduction to explain the author's own point of view or the extent of his research." Brickell's own opinion of Paine was more biased than Smith's; he praised him as "a genius," "the most unjustly abused and misunderstood of men . . . , "the father of modern democracy in England,"

and wrote of the "almost messianic consistency with which he devoted his career to the cause of human freedom. The tone of the evaluation in the American Historical Review, on the other hand, was much more restrained and balanced. The reviewer's praise of Paine did not go beyond calling him "the greatest pamphleteer American has yet produced, . . . a great international democrat, as well as a deeply religious man." While he regarded Smith's book as "the best account of Paine since Conway's study," he regretted that "it is especially deficient in adequate analysis of his underlying economics." Smith threw out leads in this direction, he concluded, but failed to develop them. "The Revolutionary War's ace agitator" was the appellation applied to Paine in The Forum review. After a very brief look at the book--"as strong and swift in its movements as one of Paine's own pamphlets"--the reviewer expended the remainder of his space summarizing Paine's career in wholly admiring terms. He glowingly spoke of his "superlative talent" and munificently dubbed him "one of those rare geniuses who fulfills himself only in a time of crisis, . . . a prophet, so long without much honor in the land of his adoption." Equally generous was the review in the New Republic, which termed Paine "the skeleton in America's closet [who] here finds a stout champion." He was a great man, the reviewer concluded, one who "had only one face, one set of values, and is still paying for it."²²

²²The following citations are to reviews of Thomas Paine: Liberator, by Frank Smith, and follow their order of appearance in the text: R. E. Spiller, American Literature, 11(1939-1940), 104-05; R. R. Palmer, "Life of Thomas Paine," Nation, 147(1938), 459-60; Crane Brinton, "Pamphleteer of the Revolution," Saturday Review, 7 Jan. 1939, p. 16; Herschel Brickell, "Honor to Tom Paine," New York Times Book Review, 2 Oct. 1938, p. 19; Joseph Dorfman, American Historical Review, 44(1938-1939), 857-59; M. L. Elting, Forum, 100(Dec. 1938), iv; New Republic, 96(1938), 251.

General Subject Books

An interesting observation that can be made about Paine in the 1930-1941 period is that he merited rather close attention in two categories of books: those in the first half of the decade which were concerned with studying the adjustments made to religion in the eighteenth century, and those several works of the latter half which traced the careers of individuals who have made significant contributions to social, economic, and political change.

The first of the books on the religious adjustment was G. A. Koch's Republican Religion (1933), which was a study of the movement to establish deism as a religious cult. According to Koch's introduction, the work attempted to show "what happened when deism spread from the intelligentsia to the common man after the American Revolution." While Paine was mentioned many times in the book, the principal consideration was found in the chapter entitled "Other Prophets" and concerned his relationship with the militant deist Elihu Palmer. "Palmer," wrote Koch, "was the chief organizer and expositor of deism as a religion," and Paine was the most important leader next to him, "wholly in sympathy with Palmer's activities in promoting the religion of deism in New York." Koch's account did not lend credence to any of the familiar tales of Paine's last years; rather, he laid Paine's bad reception in the press at the door of the Federalists, who used him "as a means of discrediting the Republican Party through associating deism or infidelity with republicanism." The composite of Paine built up from Koch's pages was not the usual one: he emerged during these last years, not a drunkard and a sloven, but a popular figure among liberal

intellectuals, a writer whose homely style was still vigorous and whose powers of invective were no less virulent. Only his themes had become old and worn, and only in his final years, when he was impoverished and ill, did Paine cease to carry on the work of militant deism, Koch concluded.²³

In the same year appeared W. M. Horton's Theism and the Scientific Spirit, a work which dealt with the fundamental problem of belief in God. His method was to "carefully study selected persons who made adjustments to the new scientific ideas as soon as they were given to the world" in order to face the theistic question more intelligently in the present day. Paine, examined in the chapter "God in the Newtonian World," was chosen as a figure whose rejection of the Bible, concept of God, and argument for His existence made him a typical member "of that small, uncompromising group called the Deists. . . ." Rather than a heretical tirade, Horton saw The Age of Reason as a frank clear-cut statement of the deistic position, and Paine himself as a man of the Newtonian Age, whose idea of the world as a "machine" and God as a "mechanic" was typical of the time. Even though Horton concluded that Paine had a naive, unimaginative, matter-of-fact mind, he exhibited no animosity toward him and never raised the old "atheist" spectre so often resurrected in the past.²⁴

A third work in this vein was Professor H. M. Morais' Deism in Eighteenth Century America, published in 1934. A particularly clear

²³G. Adolph Koch, Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason (1933; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), pp. xv, 130, 143.

²⁴Walter Marshall Horton, Theism and the Scientific Spirit (New York and London: Harper, 1933), pp. 51, 52-53, 56.

and forceful presentation of the ideas underlying the whole deistic movement, Morais' book dealt with Paine as an exponent of militant deism and pictured him "as one of the two outstanding deistic critics of Christianity in America." He regarded Paine as having changed "the axis about which deistic thought in America rotated" with The Age of Reason, a document inspired by "a deep feeling of devotion for humanity." Morais, moreover, interpreted that work as Paine's effort to save republicanism and equalitarianism from ecclesiastical destruction, his plan of attack being to discredit the clergy by "showing that the Biblical revelation upon which clerical authority was based was a human and not a divine document." While he called the controversial pamphlet "a blast of deistic dynamite," Morais emphasized that circumstances, not atheism, forced Paine to abandon his "life-long resolution of not wishing to discredit openly the Christian religion."²⁵

A work of less consequence which also appeared in 1934 was a slight volume of some fifty pages called The Higher Intelligence, privately published by its author, F. W. Tufts. It is apparent to the reader today who should chance to pick up the book that private financing was the only way this largely incoherent work ever could have achieved publication and that, indeed, only a "higher intelligence" could have fathomed the author's intent. Admitting in the preface that "I have only an average education and don't know proper English," author Tufts moved on to say that since he did not approve of Paine's methods of going at his subject by wrecking the beliefs of others, he was only

²⁵Herbert W. Morais, Deism in Eighteenth Century America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 20, 120, 122, 163.

going to include such material as he wanted, "leaving out much, if not all, of his denunciations of other beliefs, all of which contain many truths as I see them and which he acknowledges somewhere in his work, I think. . . ." Then followed some twenty pages of quotations from The Age of Reason.²⁶ "Mystifying" is perhaps the only word which accurately describes this little volume, a large part of which was devoted to Paine.

Of special interest to the student of literary criticism was F. L. Pattee's 1937 edition of John Neal's series of articles on American writers which had originally appeared in Blackwood's in 1824 and 1825. Pattee regarded these articles as significant not only because they were the first American product strong enough to break into the British reviews but also because they constituted the first attempt anywhere at a history of American literature. Written little more than a decade after Paine's death, the essays reflected the current status of his reputation: "a man--whose memory is held in utter abomination throughout America."²⁷ This valuable edition was especially timely because it pointed up so well the great change which Paine's reputation had undergone in recent times.

W. P. Rusterholtz's American Heretics and Saints, published in 1938, was the first of several works which traced the careers of individuals who made significant contributions in some specific area

²⁶ Frederick W. Tufts, The Higher Intelligence (New York: By the Author, 1934), pp. 3, 7.

²⁷ John Neal, American Writers: A Series of Papers Contributed to Blackwood's Magazine (1824-1825), ed. with Notes and Bibliography by Fred Lewis Pattee (Durham: Duke University Press, 1937), pp. 109, 170-171.

of American life or thought. A sort of "historical résumé of the development of liberal and progressive religion in America," the book consisted of a series of sixteen essays, each devoted to a personality who, because of his heresy, his personality, or his knowledge and thought, has left his mark on progressive religion in America. The substantial chapter on Paine, entitled "Thomas Paine: Citizen of the Universe," was structured in seven parts, each part developing a different thesis. The first part briefly summarized the history of Paine's reputation, primarily by quotations, and concluded that the unpopularity was due to Paine's having failed to deliver his attacks with decorum and that, in popularizing the principles of liberalism, he entitled himself to a position of special prominence in the history of the development of popular religious liberalism in America. Part two offered a brief biographical account, citing numerous sources on Paine's appearance, his physical courage, personal habits, etc. The third part was devoted to Paine's political and economic philosophy, setting forth his ideas of law, government, property, and taxation. The short fourth part concerned Paine as an inventor. Part five dealt with his religion, developing the thesis that Paine was not a Christian. He opposed, Rusterholtz concluded, all the basic doctrines of the Christian church "with all his force and energy." Part six, following the lead of Bradford, characterized Paine as a rebel who, though not a Christian, did believe in religious freedom, deism, and the concept of immortality. The seventh, and concluding, part developed the thesis that Paine was a universalist, the only "inspired and articulate 'universalist' in

the scientific, philosophical and religious connotations of the word" in his generation.²⁸

Father J. H. Fichter's The Roots of Change, published the following year, was a similar work in design; however, the author chose, not religious liberals, but fourteen outstanding leaders who occupied an important place in the history of the relationship between classes of society. This book was doubly significant because it offered the first appraisal by one of the Catholic priesthood that was not an out-and-out attack on Paine. "Restless Rebel," the title of Paine's chapter, indicated Father Fichter's dominant view: the old stormy petrel, unhappy in peacetime, the swashbuckling individual always in search of a stage "on which he could strut and fume and cast challenges in the teeth of aggressive enemies." The first few pages of the chapter presented Paine as "a precursor of national and international reform," whose influence while alive was "direct and personal in the three most progressive countries of the world." Following this fairly standard view, the author turned his attention to a touchier subject: Paine's religious views. He first carefully established the fact that Paine was not an atheist, that he never became "what might be termed an irreligious man," and that "he was not so black as he was chalked." Then he attempted to account for the, to him, inexcusable religious writings. These, he concluded, were due to "the formal and meatless teachings" of the Quakers or to "the penumbra of half-truths arrived at by Protestant individualism." Though he regarded The Age of Reason

²⁸Wallace P. Rusterholtz, American Heretics and Saints (Boston: Manthorne & Burack, 1938), pp. 107-114.

as "unbalanced" and "the mistake of his life," he attempted to rationalize it by attributing it to the "evil of his imprisonment." Like previous Catholic writers, Father Fichter maintained that Paine never understood the doctrines of Christian revelation nor the meanings of Christian tradition, but, he carefully qualified, "he was never an atheist."²⁹

A less significant work in this category was Allan Seager's They Worked for a Better World, a collection of five essays, each devoted to an individual whom the author held to be a great idealist. In addition to Paine, Roger Williams, Emerson, Elizabeth Stanton, and Edward Bellamy were each the subject of an essay. The treatment of Paine, structured in five largely biographical segments, offered no new information and consisted mainly of variations on the well-worn "fighter for freedom" theme.³⁰

H. W. Hintz's The Quaker Influence in American Literature, the final work to be considered in this section, was published in 1940. Intended primarily for the general lay reader, the book consisted of a series of short studies which suggested the prominence and significance of the Quaker influence in American letters. The view of Paine as "a courageous and crusading humanitarian, a penetrating thinker and an avowed believer in God," was established at the outset. While Hintz's primary purpose was to note the evidences of Quaker influence in Paine's activities and writings, he offered in the concluding paragraph of his

²⁹Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., Roots of Change (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939), pp. 65-86.

³⁰Allan Seager, They Worked for a Better World (New York: Macmillan, 1940), pp. 34-35.

chapter on Paine a significant estimation of Paine's reputation: "Within recent times, however, as has been suggested, careful historians and liberal critics have increasingly recognized his integrity of mind, his breadth of vision and spirit, and his power of thought and expression. The whole tendency today is to regard him as one of the greatest progressives and liberal influences in the entire history of American thought."³¹

Periodicals And Newspaper Accounts

Prior to 1930 there were two generally accepted interpretations of Paine. He was either viewed as an honorable champion of liberty who succumbed in his old age to a deplorable religious infidelity or as an individual whose thought was explicable only by the intensity of his Quakerism. While these interpretations continued to be subscribed to, the increase of interest in American literature in the 1930-1941 period resulted in Paine's becoming the subject of more frequent and more scholarly investigation than he had heretofore received.

This increase of interest can be seen as early as 1930, when Prof. Frank Smith published in American Literature an essay on Paine's first year in America. While he limited his effort to discovering points of information, Smith tried to arrive at solid facts concerning an area where Conway had only speculated.³² Similarly, an article by Caroline

³¹Howard W. Hintz, The Quaker Influence in American Literature (1940; rpt. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965), pp. 17-25.

³²"New Light on Thomas Paine's First Year in America," American Literature, 1(1929-1930), 347-71. Conceiving the year 1775 to be central in the study of Paine's development, Smith attempted to ascertain, on the basis of external and internal evidence, exactly what Paine wrote for publication during this year.

Hogue in the same journal proved that a poem long thought to have been composed by Paine in 1776 had actually been written by an unknown Englishman long before this date.³³ The Paine-adherents, on the other hand, were represented in 1930 by W. E. Dodd, whose biographical article in the American Mercury liberally whitened Paine and laid a heavy coat of black on all who opposed him. Several instances of incorrect facts and sheer fabrications weakened even further Dodd's essay.³⁴ The increasing interest paid to Paine in the popular press was evidenced by a series of four long articles in Mentor, each devoted to recounting a specific period in Paine's career. The publisher's blurbs, which referred to Paine in such glowing terms as "champion of mercy and justice . . . , a martyr to fanaticism and intolerance . . . , liberty's champion," indicated the drift of opinion.³⁵ The pending demolition of Paine's old Greenwich Village house in 1930 called forth several notices in the New York Times, the longest of which significantly identified Paine, not as an infidel, but as "the rationalist," and presented a short but notably objective account of his life.³⁶

³³"The Authorship and Date of 'The American Patriot's Prayer,'" American Literature, 2(1930-1931), 168-72.

³⁴William E. Dodd, "Tom Paine," American Mercury, 21(1930), 477-83.

³⁵George Creel, "Tom Paine Champion of Liberty," Mentor, I, Sept. 1930, pp. 10-13, 46, 48, 50, 52; II, Oct. 1930, pp. 14-17, 64-67; III, Nov. 1930, pp. 23-25, 52-55; IV, Dec. 1930, pp. 30-32, 64-66. These serialized articles formed the basis of Creel's biography of Paine, which appeared in 1932. Although some editing was done for the book, the prevailing tone of adulation remained.

³⁶"Thomas Paine's Old House," New York Times, 9 Mar. 1930, sec. 10, p. 10, col. 1.

Students of American literature continued to reap benefits in 1931 and 1932 from the efforts of researchers interested in Paine. The diligent Frank Smith published findings in American Literature which proved conclusively that Paine was not the author of "An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex," an essay long attributed to him.³⁷ In addition, he settled once and for all the question concerning the exact date of Paine's arrival in America.³⁸ E. N. Hooker, investigating the background of Wordsworth's "Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff," wrote in Studies in Philology that Paine, "probably the most widely-read writer of the decade, and certainly the most brilliant journalist. . .," exerted a strong influence on the Great Romantic. After analyzing the "Letter" for influences of Paine, he concluded that "it is reasonably clear that Wordsworth, having read Paine, was sufficiently impressed by both his ideas and his brilliance in expressing them, that he involuntarily introduced many of the ideas and even some of the phraseology into his "Letter"³⁹ E. S. Kite's less scholarly essay in a 1931 issue of Commonweal presented a generally unfavorable view of

³⁷"The Authorship of 'An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex,'" American Literature, 2(1930-1931), 277-80. Smith's evidence showed the essay to be the introduction to Russell's trans. of M. Antoine Leonard Thomas' Essai sur le Caractère, les Moeurs, et l'Esprit des Femmes dans les Différens Siècles.

³⁸"The Date of Thomas Paine's First Arrival in America," American Literature, 3(1931-1932), 317-18.

³⁹Edward Niles Hooker, "Wordsworth's Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff," Studies in Philology, 28(1931), 522-31. He finds the following points of similarity: (1) verbal resemblances; (2) point of view as to defects of English government, its problems, solutions to problems; (3) agreement as to purpose, function, and structure of government, causes of war, validity of rights of man, justification of the French Revolution, required governmental economic measures in England.

Paine. After labeling him at the outset as "a patron saint of human liberty," she abruptly changed tack and staunchly defended the causes of Christian orthodoxy, particularly the Catholic Church, against The Age of Reason; in the latter half of the essay she developed the familiar "destructive rather than constructive" thesis; and, in conclusion, viewed even Paine's sincerity as a fault: unlike others, who "trimmed their sails according to circumstances," Paine, she wrote, unflinchingly adhered to his beliefs and all their consequences.⁴⁰

The publication of three important articles on Paine by Harry Hayden Clark marked 1933 as a signal year. Professor Clark's continuing studies of Paine, which were to appear with regularity in the pages of established journals throughout the next two decades, not only greatly enhanced the critical reception of Paine but also firmly established their author as one of the most reliable and perceptive critics of our early literature. In the first study, "An Historical Interpretation of Thomas Paine's Religion," Clark advanced four major premises of Paine's constructive religious thought, isolating rationalistic science as expounded by the Newtonians as their point of origin.⁴¹ In the second study, Clark, like Paine, "an apostle of

⁴⁰ Elizabeth S. Kite, "The Revival of Thomas Paine," Commonweal, 14(1931), 93-94.

⁴¹ "An Historical Interpretation of Thomas Paine's Religion," University of California Chronicle, 35(1933), 56-87. The four premises around which the argument of the essay is structured are as follows: (1) nature is divine revelation; (2) study of nature reveals harmony, law, order; (3) natural man shares this divine benevolence and harmonious order; (4) an attempt to re-establish a lost harmony with this universal law and order, to modify or overthrow whatever traditional institutions have obscured this order and thrown its harmony into discord, will constitute progress.

orderly method in the development of an argument," structured in three tightly-knit parts his statements about Paine's theories of rhetoric. Part I gave brief consideration to some general factors which help to explain Paine's power; part II was given to six considerations which related Paine to other writers of his time; part III listed and discussed his "avowed aims" as a literary theorist. As in the previous essay, Clark concluded here that Paine's theories of rhetoric, "like his other theories, stem from and are fully explainable only in light of Newtonian science and deism."⁴² The third essay, entitled "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine," consisted of "tentative and general conclusions" which Clark had reached in the course of preparing a book on Paine and eighteenth-century radicalism. The thesis of the study may be stated as follows: While Quakerism helped to mold Paine's mind, scientific and humanitarian deism inspired his widely influential theories in religion, politics, economics, social service, education, and literary composition. While some new ideas were explored, much of this essay summarized material dealt with more fully in the two preceding studies.⁴³

Aside from the usual number of querulous letters to the editor by the Paine-adherents and their opposite numbers arguing various claims

⁴²"Thomas Paine's Theories of Rhetoric," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 28(1933), 307-39. See bibliography annotation for listing of the seven "aims" of part III, the thesis section of the essay.

⁴³ "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine," American Literature, 5(1933-1934), 133-45.

to his fame--or infamy--,⁴⁴ only two articles on Paine appeared in 1934. Unity, a liberal midwestern religious monthly, carried a short summary of Paine's life and concluded that "few men, if any, ever did more for freedom in religion and life, and received less gratitude and honor for their trouble than Thomas Paine."⁴⁵ The second article, entitled "Thomas Paine: God-Intoxicated Revolutionary," was published in Scribner's as one of that magazine's series of biographies of men who have influenced America. Its author, V. F. Calverton, a Marxist critic of some prominence in the 1930's, dwelt at some length on Paine's religious philosophy to show the irony of the fact that The Age of Reason removed "from the pages of American history one of its greatest figures, a hero in the most tragic sense of the word." The remainder of the essay Calverton gave over to developing the thesis that Paine was not fully aware of the nature of the revolutionary struggle in which he was involved, that he could not see that the clash was between two entirely different orders of society, ". . . not between the king and the people, but between the aristocracy, of whom the king was the representative, and the middle class." Because of their great concern for class conflict, the substantial number of Marxist writers during this era were, like Calverton, to see Paine as the "vanguard of his age, a spiritual precursor of a new order of society. . . ."⁴⁶

⁴⁴R. C. Roper, Letter to the Editor, New York Times, 17 Sept. 1934, p. 16, col. 5; 18 Nov. 1934, sec. 4, p. 5, col. 7; Josiah Newcomb, 6 Oct. 1934, p. 14, col. 5; Giovanni Schiavo, 2 Dec. 1934, sec. 4, p. 5, col. 7.

⁴⁵Curtis W. Reese, "Thomas Paine," Unity, 112(1934), 204.

⁴⁶"Thomas Paine: God-Intoxicated Revolutionary," Scribner's, 95 (1934), 15-22.

In 1935 the journal Pennsylvania History carried a closely documented essay by W. H. G. Armytage which explored Paine's relations with the Walkers, a family who owned the Yorkshire ironworks where Paine's iron bridge was cast. Aside from being the fullest exposition to date of this particular phase of Paine's career, the essay went far in showing that he was not solely motivated by an uncontrollable "rebel's restlessness," and that he certainly did not devote his full time while in England during this period to fomenting social unrest among the lower classes. Armytage concluded that, even though the French Revolution and Burke's attack on it drew Paine away from the bridge work, it remained his "magnificent obsession."⁴⁷ Another specific aspect of Paine's life, his friendship with Joel Barlow, was explored in the same year in a brief essay by T. A. Zunder. After examining all the extant written communication between Barlow and Paine, Zunder concluded that the two "thought highly of each other's ability," that Barlow, who knew all the leading political philosophers of the time, regarded Paine as his "most interesting and stimulating friend."⁴⁸

In May, 1936, the New York Times announced that a statue of Paine by the noted sculptor Gutzon Borglum would be unveiled in Paris in January as "part of a world-wide celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of the noted patriot and humanitarian." Later in the year the paper carried an illustration of the statue, which depicted Paine rising in the French National Assembly to plead for the life of

⁴⁷"Thomas Paine and the Walkers: An Early Episode in Anglo-American Co-operation," Pennsylvania History, 18(1935), 16-30.

⁴⁸"Notes on the Friendship of Joel Barlow and Tom Paine," American Book Collector, 6(1935), 96-99.

Louis XVI.⁴⁹ Throughout the year Joseph Lewis, an ardent admirer of Paine, bombarded the paper's editor with letters giving Paine's opinion on topics as diverse as inflation and old-age pensions.⁵⁰ R. C. Roper, another inveterate letter writer, widened his horizons somewhat beyond the boundaries of the editorial page by publishing an article in Unity entitled "Thomas Paine--Peace Maker." The essay amounted to little more than a summary of Paine's thoughts on ways to prevent war gleaned from the principal writings.⁵¹ Of much more value to the student was Marjorie Nicholson's fully documented article "Thomas Paine, Edward Nares, and Mrs. Piozzi's Marginalia," published in the Huntington Library Bulletin. The title referred to an 1801 work by the Rev. Edward Nares which had been written specifically as an answer to The Age of Reason. "It was one of the few replies to Paine which really faced the fundamental problem he attacked," the author wrote. That problem, she further maintained, concerned the "plurality of worlds" concept, a theory which Paine's work popularized and was a point missed by all of his biographers. Like Clark, she proceeded to prove that Paine's religious views were molded by his studies in scientific rationalism.⁵²

⁴⁹"Paine Statue Planned," New York Times, 22 May 1936, p. 21, col. 4; 27 Dec. 1936, sec. 2, p. 3, col. 2.

⁵⁰Letter to the Editor. New York Times, 2 Mar. 1936, p. 16, col. 6; 25 Mar. 1936, p. 20, col. 7; 23 May 1936, p. 14, col. 6; 14 June 1936, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 4.

⁵¹"Thomas Paine--Peace Maker," Unity, 117(1936), 6-10.

⁵²"Thomas Paine, Edward Nares, and Mrs. Piozzi's Marginalia," Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 10(1936), 103-33. The full title of Nares' book is ΣΙΕ ΟΕΟΣ: An Attempt to Shew How Far the Philosophical Notion of a Plurality of Worlds Is Consistent, or not so, with the Language of the Holy Scriptures.

The clamoring of the more vocal admirers for attention during this centennial year resulted in Paine's receiving a great deal of attention in the pages of the popular press in 1937. The previously mentioned Unity devoted its entire January issue to Paine, featuring five articles of tribute that could be classified as outstanding only in terms of their high saccharine content. Aimed at the general reader, the undocumented essays heaped lavish praise on Paine, variously characterizing him as a "great heart . . . aflame with a revolutionary zeal . . . a fearless warrior . . . a valiant spirit . . . a brave soul soaring above befogging convention and petty selfishness," etc.⁵³ The Nation offered an editorial which conceived of Paine as one who "helped to build a bridge in the name of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, of enlightenment, of individualism, of laissez faire . . .,"⁵⁴ while Christian Century editorialized on him as "ardently humanitarian," a man "misrepresented as a legendary monster of infidelity."⁵⁵ Shortly before the January birthdate the New York Times ran a feature article which stated that Paine "represents in many ways the highest idealism, the deepest faith in the eighteenth century, translated brilliantly into journalistic terms and sustained by a character as unselfish as Washington's

⁵³John Haynes Holmes, "Thomas Paine: 1737-1937," Unity, 118(1937), 186-89; E. Burdette Backus, "Thomas Paine and the Rights of Man," 190-91; Charles H. Lytle, "Thomas Paine's Religion of Humanity," 192-93; Curtis W. Reese, "Thomas Paine: A Tribute," 193-94; David Gittleman, "Thomas Paine: American Patriot and Crusader," 194-96.

⁵⁴"Tom Paine, Bridgebuilder," Nation, 144(1937), 118.

⁵⁵"Tom Paine, Patriot and Heretic," Christian Century, 54(1937), 102.

own."⁵⁶ Further, public exhibits of Paineiana were opened at the New York Public Library and in Philadelphia, where Richard Gimbel made available nearly a thousand items from his vast personal collection.⁵⁷ Indeed, 1937 proved to be a very good year, one in which Paine received an almost unprecedented amount of exposure to a no longer implacably hostile public.

After the flurry of interest aroused by the centennial year had abated and public attention had turned elsewhere, Paine continued to interest a small body of scholars who published findings in 1938 in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography and Political Science Quarterly. In the former, R. P. Falk, like Clark, examined once again all the evidence in order to determine whether the primary religious force acting on Paine was Quakerism or scientific deism. He concluded that Paine's social ideas were motivated in part by his Quaker background but that the "'creed of Paine' was not Quakerism but 'the purest deism' and that Quakerism and deism were not the same thing."⁵⁸ In the latter journal Joseph Dorfman assessed Paine's economic philosophy, concluding that as a whole he presented "a scheme of things closely resembling that of the Benthamites, which came a generation later."⁵⁹

⁵⁶"The Firebrand of Our Revolution," New York Times, 24 Jan. 1937, sec. 8, p. 10, col. 1.

⁵⁷"Exhibit Will Sketch Thomas Paine's Life," New York Times, 12 Dec. 1937, p. 37, col. 3.

⁵⁸"Thomas Paine: Deist or Quaker?" Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 62(1938), 52-63.

⁵⁹"The Economic Philosophy of Thomas Paine," Political Science Quarterly, 53(1938), 372-86.

As a result of his investigations into Paine's Quaker background, R. P. Falk published the following year a documented study on Paine and the attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution. "the evidence," he wrote, "points toward a determined, if passive, resistance on the part of the Quakers to the American cause . . . [and Paine], far from being sympathetic with the Quaker point of view, was quite on the opposite side."⁶⁰ Paine even made an appearance in 1939 in the pages of the United States Law Review in an article reflecting a jurist's interest in fundamental civil liberties, freedom of the press being the issue in question. The author, Nat Schmulowitz, used Paine's trial as the basis for his argument that it is both "dangerous and futile for any government to impose on a nation the commandment, Thou Shalt Not Read."⁶¹

As the war storm-clouds gathered and broke once again over Europe, many American organizations collected money for the allied effort. In June, 1940, the New York Times reported that the Paine Bi-Centennial Committee was beginning a drive to raise funds to purchase an ambulance to send to France. Helen Keller suggested that the vehicle be named "Thomas Paine, Champion of Democracy."⁶² Aside from a few mentions here and there, the only substantial treatment in 1940 was Dixon Wecter's essay "Thomas Paine and the Franklins," an examination of the

⁶⁰"Thomas Paine and the Attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 63(1939), 302-10.

⁶¹"Thou Shalt Not Read the Rights of Man," United States Law Review, 73(1939), 271-86.

⁶²"Pastor Off Today to Direct Relief," New York Times, 15 June 1940, p. 8, col. 4.

correspondence which passed between Paine and Franklin during the Revolution. Because the two were "fundamentally different in their attitude as revolutionaries," Wecter held that their correspondence was of "substantial interest to the student of American history."⁶³

The precarious situation of the free world was reflected to some extent in the Paine material of 1941, the final year included in this section. A letter to the editor of the New York Times quoted from Rights of Man to show that Paine was an "American patriot and, ironically enough, father of our policy of isolation."⁶⁴ Theatre Arts reported that Hanns Johst's play Thomas Paine was "a distortion of history made to suit Nazi propaganda," and that it distorted both Paine's life and teachings. "Freedom, truth, tolerance were his by-words," the writer asserted.⁶⁵ New Masses, a literary-political magazine which served as a sort of mouth-piece for the Communist Party in America, ran an article entitled "Tom Paine Was an Alien, Too," although Paine was never mentioned except in the title.⁶⁶ The only researched article of 1941 was H. W. Landin's "Some Letters of Thomas Paine and William Short on the Nootka Sound Crisis," published in the Journal of Modern History. Landin printed in the essay the five letters which Paine wrote to Short in June, 1790, considering them to be of "some historical value not

⁶³"Thomas Paine and the Franklins," American Literature, 12(1940-1941), 306-17.

⁶⁴Caryl E. Cohen, Letter to the Editor, New York Times, 20 Aug. 1941, p. 18, col. 6.

⁶⁵"The World and the Theatre," Theatre Arts, 25(1941), 84-85.

⁶⁶Elizabeth G. Flynn, "Tom Paine Was an Alien, Too," New Masses, 38(1941), 41.

only because they help to fill this gap in his published correspondence but also because they present an interesting interpretation of the Nootka Sound Controversy."⁶⁷

Anthologies, Literary Histories, And
Literary Criticism

One of the first important literary histories to appear in the 1930-1941 period was W. B. Cairn's revised edition of A History of American Literature, first published in 1912. Cairns, who had presented the first doctoral dissertation to an American university (Wisconsin), had, by 1930, become a really significant figure in the field, and his studies on British criticisms of American writings remain standard works even today. The rather perfunctory and brief consideration of Paine remained unchanged in the 1930 edition. Cairns noted in passing that The Age of Reason was "a work which long made his name a synonym for irreligion and atheism" and that in all of Paine's later work "there is here and there to be found a flippancy, a certain vulgar quality, offensive not only to his opponents but to the judicial minded."⁶⁸ This slightly denigrative tone is indicative of the prevailing critical mood concerning Paine during the earlier part of the century rather than in the Thirties.

The first significant new literary history to appear in the 1930's was Russell Blankenship's American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind (1931). Here the liberalizing tendency seen earlier in

⁶⁷"Some Letters of Thomas Paine and William Short on the Nootka Sound Crisis," Journal of Modern History, 13(1941), 357-74.

⁶⁸William B. Cairns, A History of American Literature, rev. ed. (1930; rpt. New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1969), p. 116.

Parrington manifested itself plainly when Blankenship referred to Paine as "worthy of the unalloyed admiration of all Americans of all times without regard to creed or party." Gone was the reserved admiration, the tentative approval. Common Sense was called "probably the most effective piece of propaganda ever written on this continent . . . one of the momentous events of the Revolution," and the value of the Crisis articles was "beyond computing." Of Paine's later reputation Blankenship said that "today we ought to take a more temperate view of the controversy," and he concluded that Paine was "no atheist . . . , but a great revolutionary agitator and pamphleteer, a great American patriot, and a great hater of oppression wherever he found it."⁶⁹ While Blankenship's estimation was weighted rather heavily on the favorable side, it indicated the general trend: the balance hand pointed ever more steadily to that area on the scale of critical opinion designated "approved and accepted."

One of the more important critical works of 1932 was Ludwig Lewisohn's Expression in America, here classified as literary history for want of a more explicit category. Lewisohn's book was not so much a history of American literature as it was an interpretation of creative thought in America and of the American spirit as expressed in its literature at different periods, the whole presentation being strained through the popular "psychological method" filter. While Paine was never a focus of interest in the study, Lewisohn, in speaking of the Revolutionary period, pointed out the timeless character of Paine's

⁶⁹American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), pp. 151, 181, 182, 185.

truths, noted that he "fathered a crude but continuous protest in American life against the prevalent bibliolatry and kept alive, among common men, a sporadic passion for reason and for thought," and concluded that he "came nearer that transmutation of experience into expression than anyone else writing in America in his day, except Franklin."⁷⁰

R. E. Spiller's anthology The Roots of National Culture (1933) indicated that in the opening years of the decade Paine was studied at the college level primarily for his Revolutionary pamphlets and his religious writings. Spiller included in the more than twenty pages allotted to Paine excerpts from the principal works and--most unusual--a poem by Paine entitled "Liberty Tree." The concise biographical account opted for the "specialist-in-revolutions" approach and emphasized Paine's radicalism.⁷¹

The only notable work of 1934 to devote any space to Paine was John Macy's American Writers on American Literature. A collection of essays dealing with the important figures in American letters, the essay on Paine was furnished by Carl Van Doren, who, for the most part, artfully rearranged the contents of his Selections introduction. He incorporated the now popular "rebel" theme and, as many were to do in this period, offered his own explanation of Paine's posthumous fate. The political pamphlets passed into history as soon as the nation got its independence, for their arguments were no longer a living issue,

⁷⁰Expression in America (New York and London: Harper, 1932), pp. 29-32.

⁷¹The Roots of National Culture: American Literature to 1830 (New York: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 245-64, 711.

he maintained; on the other hand, the war between reason and tradition never ends, and so The Age of Reason went on supporting doubters and enraging the faithful year after year. Van Doren rounded off the essay by remarking on Paine's popular appeal in that day; "his books have become the textbooks of radical thought for the English-speaking populace," he concluded, cleverly uniting the more recent "radical" approach with his own "Ragged Philosopher" theme.⁷²

In 1934, too, appeared Norman Foerster's revised edition of American Poetry and Prose, an anthology that was widely used throughout the 1940's. Significantly, the first edition of 1925 had omitted Paine entirely; in the revised edition, however, Foerster gave some twenty pages to Paine. Prefaced by a brief but objective headnote, the selections included excerpts from the first number of the Crisis and The Age of Reason (A Deist's Belief), which he called "perhaps the best statement of eighteenth-century rationalism."⁷³

At the midpoint of the Thirties, F. L. Pattee's The First Century of American Literature gave several pages to Paine, though the old "stormy petrel" interpretation it put forth offered no new insights. Pattee primarily constructed a biographical account which concentrated on Paine's activities during the Revolutionary period. Rather than as literary man, he pegged him "a propagandist in wartime, a hurler of militant pamphlets before the opening of the newspaper age, a journalist who thought only in superlatives and who knew nothing of prudence."

⁷²"Thomas Paine," American Writers on American Literature, ed. John Macy (New York: Tudor, 1934), pp. 27, 28, 34.

⁷³American Poetry and Prose, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), p. 171.

More and more, he wrote, Paine's works "must be relegated to the reference shelves rather than to the alcove for mere readers."⁷⁴

Much more in line with the social issue trend of the period was the treatment accorded Paine in W. F. Taylor's 1936 literary history. He was here seen as a "leveling democrat," an idealist who conceived of the ideal society as coming about by the establishment of democracy. This approach followed the lead of Bradford in noting that "to become constructive, he must first become destructive." However, the emphasis was more strongly placed on Paine as a constructive thinker "whose philosophy emphasized a reign of harmonious law" than as a destructive agent. Significantly, the rather lengthy account, which also dealt with Paine's literary method and his later reputation, omitted any mention of The Age of Reason.⁷⁵

The respectable state of early American literature in 1936 is attested to by the fact that P. H. Boynton's Literature and American Life allocated some 250 out of a total of 850 pages to the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. As far as Paine was concerned, Boynton seemed most interested in the implications of his previously low reputation, seeing it as "symptomatic of the critical bias of his assailants and his defenders." While he summarized the arguments of Common Sense, Boynton approached the Crisis pamphlets by analyzing their effectiveness. His principal point was that a journalist is an index to his public and that Paine's influence on the colonists "reveals

⁷⁴Fred Lewis Pattee, The First Century of American Literature 1770-1870 (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935), p. 24.

⁷⁵Walter Fuller Taylor, A History of American Letters (Boston: American Book, 1936), pp. 49-53.

as much about them as it does about him."⁷⁶ Again, no notice was taken of The Age of Reason. In the same year J. B. Hubbell's two-volume anthology of American literature included excerpts from Common Sense and "The Author's Profession of Faith" from The Age of Reason, Part I. The one-page headnote opened with a quotation from Damaged Souls and, in fact, recommended Bradford's essay as the best introduction to Paine. Understandably, Hubbell's slant was toward viewing Paine as an outlaw or rebel who incurred the hostility of one government after another.⁷⁷

The remaining anthologies of note in the 1930-1941 period are three in number. Benét and Pearson's Oxford Anthology of American Literature included Part III of Common Sense, "Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs."⁷⁸ In 1939 A College Book of American Literature reprinted selections from the first Crisis pamphlet, Common Sense, and The Age of Reason. Although the editors devoted a considerable portion of the headnote to this latter work, they concluded that Paine's "religious views were actually not unlike those of many who consider themselves liberal Christians today," A substantial bibliography was appended to the headnote.⁷⁹ Carl Van Doren in 1941 furnished The Patriotic Anthology for the Literary Guild (of which he was editor-in-

⁷⁶Percy H. Boynton, Literature and American Life (Boston: Ginn, 1936), pp. 144, 153.

⁷⁷Jay B. Hubbell, ed., American Life in Literature, 2 vols. in 1 (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1936), I, 116-25; II, 548.

⁷⁸William Rose Benét and Norman Holmes Pearson, The Oxford Anthology of American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), I, 190-98.

⁷⁹Milton Ellis, et al., A College Book of American Literature (New York: American Book, 1939), I, 283-96.

chief). A collection of patriotic poetry and prose, the volume included excerpts from the first and last Crisis numbers.⁸⁰

The final work to be here mentioned is The Oxford Companion to American Literature, which was actually more of a reference work than criticism or literary history. However, in addition to ready reference, it attempted to deal briefly "with the American mind and the American scene, as these are reflected in and influenced by American literature." While the author cautioned the reader not to judge the relative importance of the subject by the length of the article, it nevertheless seems significant that Paine received two full columns, whereas only the most prominent literary figures merited more than three columns. The entry itself was notably objective, referring to The Age of Reason only as "his great deistic work," and accounting for Paine's later reputation as the work of "malevolent persons of all parties, who feared his radical free-thinking, accused him of drunkenness, cowardice, adultery, and atheism."⁸¹

Histories And Related Works

Like the playwrights and novelists of the 1930-1941 period, the professional historians wrote from a more socially conscious point of view than they had in the preceding decade. This concern is evident in the following sampling of histories, historical biographies, and secondary and college level texts. Noticeable, too, especially as concerns Paine's reputation, is the influence of the vocal Marxist

⁸⁰The Patriotic Anthology (New York: Literary Guild, 1941), pp. 71-73.

⁸¹James D. Hart, The Oxford Companion to American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 560-61.

minority, whose assumptions about the nature of society provided a strong impulse for intellectual expression in the Thirties.

Of the several works examined from the 1930-1932 years, none gave very much space to Paine, but, on the other hand, none characterized him as a disreputable figure. While Christopher Hollis mentioned him numerous times in The American Heresy (1930), his settled opinion was that Paine was "the first of a long and happy band of transatlantic lecturers, rightly confident that he could make a living out of the Americans by inventing for them noble reasons for doing whatever they might wish to do."⁸² Vannest and Smith's Socialized History of the United States, a 1931 high school text, devoted the usual paragraph to Common Sense, saying that it "did much to strengthen sentiment for independence."⁸³ Frederick Jackson Turner's The Significance of Sections in American History gave several neutral mentions to Paine in connection with the letter to O'Fallon and the pamphlet Public Good.⁸⁴ When Lewis M. Sears termed Paine one of the "precursors of mighty social overthrow" in his 1932 biography of George Washington, he exhibited the "social consciousness" tendency which increased as the decade advanced. More and more frequently, historians referred to Paine in terms of what has today become a stereotype: the fiery-eyed radical obsessed with forcefully overturning the established order as a means of achieving his social ideal. Sears, however, was sympathetic

⁸²The American Heresy (New York: Minton, Balch, 1930), p. 14.

⁸³Charles G. Vannest and H. L. Smith, Socialized History of the United States (New York: Scribner's, 1931), p. 114.

⁸⁴The Significance of Sections in American History (New York: Henry Holt, 1932), pp. 57, 108.

toward Paine, even to the point of excusing his abusive letter to Washington: "Paine," he wrote, "could not be expected to view the issue calmly--a quality that hardly characterized him in any event--and his wrath is quite intelligible."⁸⁵

Whereas Lewis Einstein referred to Paine simply as "the pamphleteer," in Divided Loyalties (1933),⁸⁶ John H. Preston, though admiring, developed even further the portrait of Paine as a mania-driven revolutionist in his Revolution, 1776. Rather fancifully he compared Paine to "one of those sleek-eyed, pasty-faced fellows who will take you aside in a tailor's shop and mumble to you as long as you will listen about how tyrannical this government is and how only money can buy freedom." Further on, he more explicitly characterized him as "obsessed by the gleaming ideal of freedom and the natural rights of man, . . . a sort of Rousseau of the slums . . . [who] like Danton and Trotsky, had a mania about the liberty of the downtrodden."⁸⁷

Of those books selected as representative of 1934, three emphasized the "fiery-eyed radical" approach. Faulkner and Kepner's high school text noted that Common Sense was written by a "radical English immigrant";⁸⁸ A. E. Martin's enlarged History of the United States gave brief attention to the same pamphlet as "part of the radical influence

⁸⁵George Washington (New York: Crowell, 1932), pp. 78, 477-78.

⁸⁶Divided Loyalties: Americans in England During the War of Independence (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 70.

⁸⁷Revolution, 1776 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), pp. 75-76.

⁸⁸Harold W. Faulkner and Tyler Kepner, America: Its History and People, A Unit Organization (New York and London: Harper, 1934), pp. 84-85.

moving for separation";⁸⁹ N. W. Stephenson in A History of the American People called it a "fiery pamphlet" and its author "that intense enthusiast."⁹⁰ Fletcher Pratt, on the other hand, spoke unfavorably of him in The Heroic Years as "that moth-eaten old saint of democracy, Tom Paine, who was doing a well-deserved sentence in a French jail." In the same work he later wrote that "old Tom Paine died in a mean room in New Rochelle, with his eyes fixed on the peeling wall-paper."⁹¹ This latter statement, while descriptive, was not accurate, for Paine, though his eyes may well have been fixed on the wallpaper, died, not in New Rochelle, but in New York City.

Although the Dictionary of American Biography is not, strictly speaking, a work of history, it does offer in reference form succinct accounts of all important figures in American history and literature; and, since these treatments were usually carefully written by competent scholars, they provide a reliable picture of the subject's status at the time of publication. In the case of Paine, that time was 1934, and the account was written by Crane Brinton. In keeping with the temper of the decade, Brinton presented Paine as "temperamentally a rebel, a socially disreputable agitator . . . [whose] life was an unheroic sequence of purely literary struggles." In addition to reflecting this current vogue, Brinton's account made several significant

⁸⁹ Asa Earl Martin, History of the United States, enl. ed. (Boston: Ginn, 1934), I, 160.

⁹⁰ Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, A History of the American People, Vol. II: The Creation of A New Occidental Power: 1500-1850 (New York: Scribner's, 1934), pp. 204, 324.

⁹¹ The Heroic Years: Fourteen Years of the Republic 1801-1815 (New York: Smith and Haas, 1934), pp. 23, 155.

judgments, which may be summarized as follows: (1) the Quaker influence was not so great as has been supposed; (2) Paine's poverty and failure-ridden background gave him an education strictly confined to contemporaneous matters and eighteenth-century science taught him to revolt against a society quite unscientifically constructed; (3) it is not likely that he had any personal influence in the formation of the Declaration of Independence, nor is it likely that The Crisis won the battle of Trenton; (4) because he could not speak French, Paine's role in France was inconsiderable and too much has been made of his tribulations there; (5) almost everything Paine posits in The Age of Reason "is today a commonplace of critical scholarship"; (6) most of the discrediting tales of his last years may be dismissed. While this remains one of the best short estimations of Paine available, the revolutionary-by-temperament thesis runs thread-like through the whole of it and receives positive emphasis in the final paragraph.⁹²

In 1935 Prof. D. S. Muzzey wrote a new history text for high schools which gave Paine the standard text book treatment, concluding that "it is doubtful whether any other printed work in all American history has had a greater influence than Paine's 'Common Sense.'"⁹³ Similarly, Adams and Vannest devoted a page to the famous pamphlet in The Record of America and termed its author a "born revolutionist."⁹⁴

⁹²C[rane] B[rinton], "Paine, Thomas," DAB, (1934).

⁹³David Saville Muzzey, History of the American People (Boston: Ginn, 1936), p. 125.

⁹⁴James Truslow Adams and Charles Garrett Vannest, The Record of America (New York: Scribner's, 1935), p. 111.

Of the several works representing 1937, W. E. Woodward's A New American History best conveys the view of Paine had by the general reading public, for the somewhat folksy prose was intentionally aimed at those outside the field of historical scholarship. Again the "rebel-by-instinct" thesis prevailed, and Paine was characterized as "a doctrinaire, as harsh and as logical as Lenin," one of those types of men "who appear in every generation, and who are always opposed to the existing authority, no matter what it happens to be."⁹⁵ At the secondary level, a new text for senior high schools, Growth of the American People, gave several mentions to Paine, regarding him as "one of the more radical leaders," and, later, as "the most radical of all the patriots."⁹⁶ James Truslow Adams' The Living Jefferson, one of the more authoritative works of the year, referred to Paine, too, as a "born revolutionary"; Adams, however, in the brief space he gave to Paine, primarily dealt with The Age of Reason, emphasizing that the condemnation to which Paine has been subjected was due to the orthodox ministry's unwillingness to make any distinction between deism and atheism.⁹⁷ Another important Jefferson study of the same year, Claude G. Bowers' Jefferson in Power, gave several notices to Paine. While Bowers did not utilize the now familiar "radical" approach, he regarded Paine's pen as the most powerful of the time. "His pamphlets . . . had been as mighty armies in the field. . .," he wrote; ". . . no other being had done so much in reviving the fainting

⁹⁵A New American History (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), pp. 157-59.

⁹⁶Marcus Wilson Jernegan, et al., Growth of the American People (New York: Longmans Green, 1936), pp. 114, 151.

⁹⁷The Living Jefferson (New York: Scribner's, 1936), pp. 313-14.

spirits of the patriots." Whereas Crane Brinton had had serious doubts about the validity of the traditionally villainous portrait of Gouverneur Morris, Bowers unequivocally wrote that Morris "poisoned the mind of Washington against the man who had so zealously served him and his cause," and he quoted at some length from Morris' papers to show that he had, indeed, hated both Jefferson and Paine. More significant, however, was Bowers' explanation of the vilification accorded Paine on his return to America. It was partly a ploy of the Federalist press, he conjectured, and Paine was simply a pawn used by the organized opposition forces as a means of getting at Jefferson. "Such was the homecoming of the greatest and most useful penman of the Revolution," he concluded.⁹⁸

Whereas R. V. Harlow's Story of America (1937) merely mentioned Common Sense as leading to the Declaration of Independence,⁹⁹ S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager devoted a page and a half in The Growth of the American Republic to the pamphlet. After summarizing its principal arguments, they concluded that "the influence of this amazing pamphlet cannot well be exaggerated." The Age of Reason, however, did not fare so well, emerging from their collective pen as "that scurrilous arraignment of the Bible."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Jefferson in Power: The Death Struggle of the Federalists (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1936), pp. 140-43.

⁹⁹ Ralph Volney Harlow, Story of America, rev. ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1937), p. 124.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), I, 78-79, 243.

The established trend continued to be observed in those books sampled for 1938. In The Roots of American Civilization, C. P. Nettels termed Paine "a restless English adventurer in radicalism" and elsewhere referred to Franklin, Paine, and Samuel Adams all as "radical democratic leaders."¹⁰¹ J. B. Sanders devoted a page to Common Sense in Early American History (1492-1789), noting that "radicals and conservatives alike recognized its potency."¹⁰² Historic Currents in Changing America, a secondary level text organized on the unit basis, gave a brief but objective paragraph to Paine,¹⁰³ and Carl Van Doren made the expected favorable references in his biography of Franklin.¹⁰⁴ Writing under the pseudonym Henry Thomas, H. T. Schnittkind offered in 1938 an interpretation of Paine similar to that which Dos Passos was to put forward several years later. His pen portrait of Paine in The Story of the United States, a popular history structured as a series of portraits of famous Americans, concentrated on recounting the effects of his pen, labeling the American pieces as "sacrificial offering[s] on the altar of freedom." Overall, Paine emerged as a man on the run, a man who stopped briefly to put America on the road to freedom, then dashed off to answer the call of mother Europe, "still groaning under her chains," a man who had in front of him the goal of revolutionizing

¹⁰¹Curtis P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life (New York: Crofts, 1938), pp. 656, 665.

¹⁰²Jennings B. Sanders, Early American History (1492-1789): Political, Social, Economic (New York: Prentice Hall, 1938), pp. 526-27.

¹⁰³Harry J. Carman, et al., Historic Currents in Changing America (Chicago: Winston, 1938), p. 113.

¹⁰⁴Benjamin Franklin (New York: Viking, 1938), pp. 548, 733.

the whole world. The author's bias led him to conclude that the vehemence that Paine displayed in the writings of his later years was attributable to his physical sufferings, which "toward the end of his life tended to unbalance his sense of fair judgment."¹⁰⁵

One of the significant books of 1939 was the Beards' America in Midpassage, the third part of their survey of American civilization. Here they called Paine to mind when writing of F. D. R.'s campaign speeches: "through all his addresses ran the strong note of democratic humanism--the note struck in Thomas Paine's Rights of Man." Elsewhere, they pointed to Paine as having made the widest and deepest formulation of humanistic democracy in the revolutionary period.¹⁰⁶ Jeanette and Roy Nichols, however, gave only a few lines to Paine in The Growth of American Democracy, content to leave him "a young English ne'er-do-well."¹⁰⁷ Similar short shrift was given in Bassett's A Short History of the United States, which devoted a brief paragraph to the role of Common Sense and concluded with the cursory judgment that "history cannot forget that he was an important promoter of the revolution."¹⁰⁸

As the era of the Great Depression drew to a close, the sharply focused view of Paine as a radical revolutionist began to diffuse. Although some figures, such as George M. Stephenson in American History

¹⁰⁵The Story of the United States: A Biographical History of America (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1938), pp. 59-66.

¹⁰⁶Charles A. Beard and Mary A. Beard, America in Midpassage, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1939), I, 326; II, 941.

¹⁰⁷The Growth of American Democracy (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939), p. 76.

¹⁰⁸John Spencer Bassett, A Short History of the United States, 1492-1938, 3rd. ed., rev. and enl. (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 186.

to 1865, still regarded Common Sense as a work which registered the "rising tide of radicalism,"¹⁰⁹ more and more writers of histories and related works regarded it simply as a "bold and incisive argument for independence" or praised The Crisis because it "revived the spirits of the patriots and swelled the number of recruits."¹¹⁰ In Stephenson and Dunn's 2-volume life of Washington, for instance, Paine was referred to only as one of the "noble core of indomitable spirits" who composed a tract "which was to become immortal."¹¹¹ More fulsome praise, however, was accorded in E. S. Bates' American Faith, a study which characterized Paine as an idealist, a "true descendant of Roger Williams, William Penn and Oglethorpe." Like Bowers, Bates accounted for the hatred of Paine in the religious revival and the Federalist fear of Jefferson. His pro-Paine bias even led him to brand Theodore Roosevelt as that "ignorant American President" and to conclude that America's subsequent treatment of one of its foremost patriots was "a long-enduring national disgrace."¹¹²

"That radical English immigrant" view still lingered in the 1941 study American Political and Social History by H. U. Faulkner.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ American History to 1865 (New York: Harper, 1940), p. 112.

¹¹⁰ Homer C. Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the American People 1492-1865, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. 201.

¹¹¹ Nathaniel Wright Stephenson and Waldo Hilary Dunn, George Washington, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), II, 377

¹¹² Ernest Sutherland Bates, American Faith: Its Religious, Political, and Economic Foundations (New York: Norton, 1940), pp. 270, 307.

¹¹³ Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Political and Social History, 2nd ed. (New York: Crofts, 1941), p. 96.

Barker and Commager's Our Nation, a text for high schools, however, pinned no such exact label on Paine; rather, they equated his writings with those of Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, and attributed some aspects of Jefferson's foreign policy to Common Sense, "one of the most famous writings in American history."¹¹⁴

The final work to be mentioned in this section is Philip Davidson's Propaganda and the American Revolution 1763-1783 (1941), which, though it mentioned Paine numerous times, did not give any lengthy consideration to him. Understandably, Davidson's approach toward Paine was to view him as "agitator and propagandist supreme." However, he did not seem to feel that the revolutionary pamphlets merited as much attention as elsewhere had been suggested; "powerful as the essay is," he wrote of Common Sense, "the list of positive advantages of independence which closes it is weak and repetitive." Primarily, he placed Paine in the radical movement, pointing out initially that "he sensed as did few others the radical temper . . ." and "was far more radical in his social theories than the other propagandists. . . ."¹¹⁵

Summary

The collapse of the national economy in 1929 and the resultant Great Depression accounted for some reconstruction of ideas in the Thirties. For countless Americans who had experienced a loss of traditional beliefs and who had seen hallowed institutions topple under pressure, who regarded the very foundations of society as

¹¹⁴ Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager, Our Nation (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1941), pp. 117, 250, 784.

¹¹⁵ Propaganda and the American Revolution 1763-1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 13-14, 131.

crumbling, the necessary adjustments manifested itself in a variety of ways. While some climbed flagpoles and swallowed goldfish, others rethought their religious beliefs or put their faith in the New Deal version of the old American dream of success. A vocal minority embraced the secular religion of Communism, which promised to create a paradise on earth by destroying the private property system.

Concerning Paine's reputation during this complex era, the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) The introductory essays to editions of Paine prepared during the 1930-1941 period generally sustained the "Paine-as-rebel" thesis popularized during the preceding decade and exhibited the strong social consciousness present in much of the literature of the 1930's. (2) The extent of Paine's appeal to the general reading public was attested to by the publication of four "popular" biographies. (3) While the 1937 commemoration of his birth elicited much favorable attention in the popular press, Paine, throughout the period, was the subject of numerous scholarly articles, such as those by H. H. Clark, which studied him in relation to adjustments made to religion in the eighteenth century and as a significant contributor to social, economic, and political change. (4) Literary historians and compilers of anthologies followed, for the most part, Bradford's well-blazed trail, and many, like Carl Van Doren, modified their earlier estimations to reflect this popular "specialist-in-revolutions" motif. The temper of the 1930's was especially congenial to the thesis that Paine was an idealist who would wreak destruction in order to construct a better society. The old animosity toward The Age of Reason was almost entirely absent; in fact, when the work was mentioned at all,

it was in terms of its deistic concepts. (5) A large percentage of the histories sampled presented Paine as a "mania-driven revolutionary" or a "fiery-eyed radical," a view which again reflected the concern for social consciousness and the influence of the Marxist oriented minority. As the period came to a close, however, this view diminished. In fine, Howard Hintz succinctly captured the prevailing wind of opinion concerning Paine in the 1930's when he penned the following sentence: "The whole tendency today is to regard him as one of the greatest progressives and liberal influences in the entire history of American thought."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶Hintz, p. 24.

V. PAINE IN CONFLICT, CONFRONTATION,
AND CRISIS: 1942-1970

The period 1942-1970, in spite of its great declared war and two lesser undeclared wars, its ominous mushroom-shaped clouds, its recurring crises and confrontations, saw the production in America of more books and articles on Paine than in all the preceding periods combined. The sheer bulk of this mass of material necessarily precludes a piece-by-piece examination. In order, therefore, to insure a manageable length, only those works deemed to be of primary importance in determining the course of Paine's reputation in this period will be examined. Those published pieces not here mentioned will, however, receive annotation in the bibliography.

Editions

While numerous editions of Paine's various works appeared throughout the 1942-1970 period, the two most notable, those by Harry Hayden Clark and Philip S. Foner, were published in 1944 and 1945. The former, Thomas Paine: Representative Selections, a compact but hefty volume of more than 400 pages, was Clark's contribution to the American Writers Series, of which he was the general editor. The volume's lengthy and closely documented introduction (108 pages and more than 450 footnotes) was, according to its author, devoted entirely "to the development of Paine's ideas--religious, political, economic, humanitarian, educational, and literary, with emphasis on their genetic

interrelationships."¹ With his usual careful attention to structure, Clark analyzed the essential points in Paine's general theory in six clearly defined sections, the emergent view of Paine being that of a deist of the Enlightenment, conditioned largely by the Newtonian concept of a universe guided by inexorable and divinely created laws. While much of the introduction represented a synthesis of Clark's previously published writings on Paine, the section on economics was new. In addition to the introduction, the volume included a chronological table, a selected annotated bibliography, and notes on the selections, the notes providing succinct analysis as well as historical criticism and informative background. As for the texts themselves, Clark slightly modernized them in spelling and punctuation and corrected obvious typographical errors.

The reviews which Clark's volume received were generally favorable. H. W. Schneider, writing in American Literature, called it "a model of scholarship," noting that it "will no doubt remain for many years the most useful handbook for a critical study of Paine's thought and style." Schneider's only reservation concerned Clark's identifying Paine's deism so completely with Newtonianism. Reviewing in the Journal of Philosophy, J. L. Blau praised Clark's high standard of scholarship and wrote that his analysis "affirms the greater significance of Newtonianism to Paine, and thus restores Paine's deism rather than his humanitarianism to a central position." C. E. Merriam, in the American Political Science Review, saw the volume as "a significant contribution

¹ Harry Hayden Clark, ed. Thomas Paine: Representative Selections (New York: American Book, 1944), p. v.

to a clearer view of Paine and deserving of careful study." Of Paine himself, Merriam wrote that "almost everyone must recognize Paine as one of the greatest, if not the very greatest propagandists in American history" and evinced pleasure at observing the "increasing attention to the role of this very brilliant if somewhat misguided patriot." "The best analysis in print of Paine's ideas and their sources" was the opinion of the reviewer in the American Historical Review. On the other hand, Howard Mumford Jones termed the introduction "redundant"; "The editor is so filled with enthusiasm for his subject that he has furnished a superfluity of information about a writer, whose persuasive powers were great, but whose mental acumen was not much above the ordinary," he wrote. Jones did concede, however, that the book was useful "for giving us a good sense of Paine's interests and a very real sense of the intellectual climate in which he lived."²

The publication of Philip S. Foner's The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine in 1945 may be considered proof positive of the ascending nature of Paine's reputation curve in America near the mid-point in the twentieth century. Complete in two volumes,³ Foner's edition, in an

²The following citations are to reviews of Thomas Paine: Representative Selections, ed. Harry Hayden Clark, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Herbert W. Schneider, American Literature, 16(1944-1945), 247-48; Joseph L. Blau, Journal of Philosophy, 41(1944), 420; Charles E. Merriam, American Political Science Review, 38(1944), 793-95; Philip Davidson, American Historical Review, 50(1944), 143-44; Howard Mumford Jones, Modern Language Notes, 60(1945), 283.

³Philip S. Foner, ed., The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, 2 vols. (1945; rpt. New York: Citadel Press, 1969), Vol. 1, arranged chronologically, contains the major works; vol. 2, arr. topically, contains the other political and economic essays, theological dissertations, scientific papers, and political and personal correspondence. Each volume is separately indexed and each department of Paine's writing is prefaced by a general introductory note.

effort to attract the general reader as well as the student, utilized modernized spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. The 36-page introduction, entitled "Thomas Paine--World Citizen and Democrat," offered a factual, restrained account, free of exaggerated praise of its subject. Acknowledging at the outset the importance of the studies of Conway and Clark ("the most important student of Paine since Conway"), Foner maintained that both had erred in placing too much emphasis on the influence of Quakerism and Newtonianism, his own thesis being that "life itself was an extremely important teacher." Furthermore, Foner did not subscribe to the "restless rebel" idea; rather, he saw Paine as a "lover of liberty" who possessed a unique gift and happened to be in the right place at the right time. Concluding the introduction, Foner pointed out that, due to the work of Parrington and Clark, Paine was "just beginning to receive the homage due him," that he "merits a lasting place in the democratic tradition," and that his beliefs regarding democratic principles bear a striking similarity to those of Jefferson.⁴ Additional useful aids in the edition included a 10-page chronological table of Paine's writings and a selected bibliography which listed all important works up to 1945.

Noted historian Allan Nevins, reviewing the edition in the New York Times, made the following remark, significant in terms of Paine's reputation: ". . . the tide has not only turned but turned with tremendous force. Paine is at last understood for what he was--a genius . . . who labored with wonderful effectiveness to make men free physically, mentally and religiously." Nevins held that the edition itself

⁴Ibid., pp. x, xii, xiv.

"constitute[s] an important public service . . . in short, the two volumes are at once the fullest, the most inexpensive, and the most usable edition of Paine that has yet been published." Similar praise was offered by C. E. Jorgenson, who wrote that ". . . one is grateful for a collection in which Thomas Paine is more amply than ever before self-revealed as a master libertarian. In these 'complete' writings Paine more vividly emerges as a giant Promethean confidant in his infinite faith in man's malleability through science and reform." R. A. Brown, reviewing in Social Studies, wrote of Foner's introduction: "For a reasonably brief, and yet complete, appraisal of Paine's position in American history and of his world-wide contribution to freedom and democracy, this essay is perhaps the finest thing in print." And the edition itself Brown termed "a distinctive addition to the literature of American history." Still critical of Paine, Howard Mumford Jones withheld any words of praise in his New England Quarterly review, faulting Foner for lack of specificity as to the origin of what he printed, for unsystematic textual annotation, and for lack of objectivity. As for Paine, Jones said that "his great glory is that he is one of the two or three most successful propagandists in American history."⁵

Following the successful public reception of his novel Citizen Tom Paine, Howard Fast, long associated with left-wing American political

⁵The following citations are to reviews of The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. Philip S. Foner, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Allan Nevins, "Thomas Paine, World Citizen," New York Times Book Review, 23 Dec. 1945, pp. 1, 12; C. E. Jorgenson, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 33(1946), 337-39; Ralph Adams Brown, Social Studies, 37(1946), 234-35; Howard Mumford Jones, New England Quarterly, 19(1946), 256-58.

groups and one of the pronounced Paine champions of this period, in 1945 issued a one-volume edition entitled The Selected Work of Tom Paine. The seven-page introduction, as might be expected, presented Paine as "a revolutionist who created a revolution . . . a stiff-necked, defiant prophet . . . who stepped off a boat and into the ripest and most gorgeous revolutionary opportunity that had existed." Throughout, Fast stressed Paine's affinity with the common people, the dynamic nature of his work, and his belief in the efficacy of change. In conclusion he offered a short estimate in which he termed Paine's plan for social security his greatest contribution as a political thinker.⁶

In a short review in the Nation, McAlister Coleman, taking his cue from Fast, referred to Paine as the "liberty-intoxicated author," while Allan Nevins, in a more extensive review in the New York Times held that Fast had overemphasized Paine's devotion to change. "It is certain," Nevins wrote, "that he did not believe in change for its own sake, but only to attain well-planned objects." "Paine," he concluded, "was a practical idealist, who wished to use reform to improve society, not disrupt it."⁷

The next significant edition of Paine was N. F. Adkins' Common Sense and Other Political Writings, published in 1953 as one of the American Heritage Series. A substantial five-part introduction had as its purpose, "in part, to trace out in Paine's life and works what he

⁶Howard Fast, ed., The Selected Work of Tom Paine (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945), pp. ix, xii.

⁷The following citations are to reviews of The Selected Work of Tom Paine, ed. Howard Fast, and follow their order of appearance in the text. McAlister Coleman, Nation, 160(1945), 340; Allan Nevins, "Thomas Paine, World Citizen," New York Times Book Review, 23 Dec. 1945, pp. 1, 12.

believed the proper functioning of humanitarian principles." Part one offered a general review of Paine's political speculations, concluding that he can be more accurately associated with Newton and Locke than with Rousseau; part two concentrated on Paine's political activities during the American Revolution; part three was primarily devoted to Rights of Man, discussing it as an example of Paine's natural rights theory; part four covered the period of participation in the French Revolution; part five gathered up the final years and concluded with the following appraisal: "Despite the human frailties that attend ever upon genius, Paine was one of those great humanitarian spirits who illuminate with rare intensity the age into which they are born."⁸

The final edition to be mentioned, The Essential Thomas Paine, was published as a paperback by the New American Library in 1969. The twenty-page introduction by Sidney Hook was largely devoted to a discussion of Rights of Man, "the only work of Paine," wrote Hook, "that remains topical and relevant to contemporary concerns." While the cover claims that Paine's writings "remain the most forcefully phrased and cogent arguments ever penned for the cause of human freedom" may be discounted as so much publisher puffing, more importance must be attached to Hook's assertion that Paine's belief in "the traditional doctrines of the existence of a Supreme Power and the immortality of the soul was much more unqualified than the belief of Tillich and Niebuhr, the leading Protestant theologians of the

⁸ Nelson F. Adkins, ed., Common Sense and Other Political Writings, American Heritage Series (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), pp. i-lil.

twentieth century."⁹ Clearly the day of abrasive attacks on Paine, attacks motivated by religious antagonisms, was over--at least among the considerable number of Paine editors in the 1942-1970 period.

Biographies, Novels, And Dramas

As has been previously pointed out, interest in Paine has always seemed to increase in time of war. This tendency can clearly be seen in this final period, for in 1943, as the American war machine ground along in high gear, bookshop windows began displaying copies of a new book on Paine, a book which was so widely read that it can today claim with some justification to be the most well-known work on Paine produced in the twentieth century. That book was Citizen Tom Paine, a novel by Howard Fast. The first fictionalized account of Paine, Fast's novel was spirited, swift-paced, powerful; its prose sharp and clean; its portrait of Paine vivid, revolting yet compelling. Eschewing a straightaway method of narration, Fast structured the book as a series of quick and vivid impressions, with frequent changes of locale and sudden flash-backs to Paine's early life, a method which itself reflected the kaleidoscopic and incident-packed life of Paine. The most important feature of the novel, however, was the depiction of its central character, a view which was to exert a definite influence on subsequent treatments of Paine. The figure which emerged from Fast's facile pen was, much to the horror of Paine's coterie of admirers, a surly, hulking, hook-nosed man, a snarling, quarreling, big, ugly-headed, twisted-eyed, ham-handed individual--certainly a striking

⁹Sidney Hook, ed., The Essential Thomas Paine, A Mentor Book (New York: New American Library, 1969), pp. xi-xii.

contrast to the saintly martyr of democracy of most of the popular biographies. Too, Fast made no effort to gloss over Paine's dirty habits, his bouts with the rum bottle, his bitterness, his resentment. Throughout, he presented Paine as mania-driven, a man impelled to incite revolution because he could not look around him and see men everywhere free, a man who perfected the "technique of revolution" in order to bring "the common men of the world marching together, shoulder to shoulder, guns in their hands, love in their hearts."¹⁰

Fast's novel was widely and enthusiastically reviewed. Elmer Rice, in the lead review in the New York Times, called it "a timely and readable reincarnation of a forgotten man" and digressed to deplore the "conspiracy of silence and the campaign of calumny" which resulted in Paine's having been so long neglected and misunderstood. He went on to praise Paine's qualities of forthrightness, courage, idealism, incorruptibility--qualities which made him "one of the most extraordinary figures of the eighteenth century." Allan Nevins, in the Saturday Review, regarded the portrait of Paine as "the best element in Mr. Fast's book" and called attention to the need for Paine's writings at that particular time of national crisis. Further, he noted that Paine was a good subject for the historical novelist, who could "with good reason point to him as one of the liberators of the human mind." Diana Trilling, writing in the Nation, recommended the novel as "very timely, not only for its subject but for its method," while George Mayberry, reviewing in the New Republic, called it "a masterful

¹⁰ Howard Fast, Citizen Tom Paine (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943), p. 124.

drawing. . . ." As for Paine's reputation, Mayberry concluded his article by calling for a Life and Times which would "rectify, illuminate and refurbish the vituperative, pedestrian and outmoded work of Paine's earlier biographers." Similarly, Clifton Fadiman, while accepting Fast's picture, declared from the pages of the New Yorker that "to this day [it] is not sufficiently realized that the faith and works of this neurotic, drunken, obstinate patriot entitle him to a place in our own affections not too far below that of Thomas Jefferson." The Library Journal called the novel a "vivid picture of Paine's mode of writing, idiosyncrasies, and character" and noted that "antagonisms will be aroused by some strictures on great figures, but it could not be otherwise--being Paine." And, finally, the Atlantic's reviewer succinctly summed up what must have been the feeling of many: "After reading this book, I want to read more Tom Paine."¹¹

As if in answer to the calls of Clark and Mayberry for a new and better biography, W. E. Woodward in 1945 came forth with Tom Paine: America's Godfather. This latest of the popular biographies was new, but it definitely was not better; in fact, it may be said to vie with Mrs. Best's book for honors as the most ill-written biography of the century. After having stated in the preface that it was his purpose to present "a true picture of Tom Paine and his place in American

¹¹The following citations are to reviews of Citizen Tom Paine, by Howard Fast, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Elmer Rice, "Tom Paine, Prophet of Liberty," New York Times Book Review, 25 Apr. 1943, pp. 1, 18; Allan Nevins, "Man of Reason with a Mission," Saturday Review, 1 May 1943, p. 8; Diana Trilling, Nation, 156(1943), 676; George Mayberry, "Journeyman of the Revolution," New Republic, 108(1943), 646; Clifton Fadiman, New Yorker, 1 May 1943, pp. 73-74; Jesse Edward Cross, Library Journal, 68(1943), 327; Edward Weeks, Atlantic Monthly, July 1943, pp. 121-22.

history" and that this meant bringing out his good as well as his bad qualities, Woodward proceeded, despite his disclaimer, to churn out what essentially amounted to a panegyric, a pot-boiler notable only for its extended defenses of Paine against charges of drunkenness and uncleanness, its copious quotations, its careless scholarship, and its almost total lack of interpretation. Early on, Woodward singled out Howard Fast as the special object of his ire: what right had Fast to portray Paine as a "down-and-outer," Woodward queried. "Even a writer of fiction," he blustered, "has no right to libel a heroic character who has actually lived, and who has been already maligned and slandered in the past by his enemies." Delivering the lowest of blows, he climaxed his outburst with a bit of libeling of his own, calling Fast's picture of Paine illustrative of "the Communist mind in America." Yet so completely devoid of scholarly method was he that Woodward himself took all the liberties of Fast and had not the protective mantle of fiction to wrap around himself. In stating categorically that Paine was out of place as a staymaker because he was "an intensely masculine man who felt that the making of women's garments ought to be done by women and not by men," and that he "wore his best clothes, and was carefully shaved, combed and brushed"¹² when he first met Franklin, Woodward violated in the most flagrant fashion the dictum of adherence to factual evidence, a primary rule of serious biography.

As might be suspected, Woodward did not fare well at the hands of the critics. "Woodward's biography . . . is essentially that of an

¹²Tom Paine: America's Godfather (New York: Dutton, 1945), pp. 29-30.

amateur popularizer whose very sketchy bibliography would suggest that he is imperfectly acquainted with much of what scholars have already done to illuminate Paine and the patterns of thought of his era" was the conclusion reached by H. H. Clark. The New Republic reviewer wrote that "it is hard to see what, if anything, Mr. Woodward has added to our knowledge of his subject," and the Springfield Republican termed the book "dedicated to the purpose of defending Paine against detractors past and present, real and imaginary." Saturday Review's D. L. Horner called it "a violent book" and its author "a violent disciple of Tom Paine and an ardent defender. . . ." The Atlantic's reviewer faulted the author for hasty editing and too many enthusiastic assertions, writing that "of Paine himself it reveals little that could not be gleaned from his own words . . . The way is still open," he concluded, "to future biographers of 'America's Godfather.'" Coleman Rosenberger, reviewing in the Nation, noted the increasing attention Paine had attracted during the preceding two decades and stated that Woodward "will have performed a public service if he scrapes a little of the mud off Paine's reputation."¹³

The final biography to be published in the 1900-1970 period was A. O. Aldridge's Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine (1959). Professor Aldridge, of the University of Maryland, like Woodward

¹³The following citations are to Tom Paine: America's Godfather, by W. E. Woodward, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Harry Hayden Clark, Political Science Quarterly, 61(1945), 455-56; New Republic, 113(1945), 142; S. L. Jackson, Springfield Republican, 24 June 1945, p. 4D; Durbin L. Horner, "America's Uncompromising Revolutionist," Saturday Review, 7 July 1945, p. 12; Charles W. Morton, Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1945, p. 138; Coleman Rosenberger, Nation, 160(1945), 723-24.

before him, announced at the outset that it was his intention "not to please either Paine's idolators or his enemies, but to gather and present evidence." Unlike Woodward, however, Aldridge carried out this intention; the resultant work was so remarkably objective, in fact, that Paine failed to emerge from the pages as a clear-cut personality. This defect was overshadowed, however, by the book's many positive aspects: its use of the "considerable number of documents unknown to any of Paine's editors or his previous biographers"; its utilization of the findings set forth in scholarly articles scattered through various journals of the preceding two decades; its firm basis in original research conducted in France and England as well as in this country.

Aldridge's final chapter, "Recapitulation," can, to a great extent, be seen as a succinct statement of Paine's position in American literature at the present time. Opening with the statement that the personal neglect suffered by Paine in his last days seems almost incomprehensible considering the contributions he made "to the development of the nation and to the clarification on a world scale of the principal issues of religion and politics," Aldridge conceded that many of the charges made by Paine's detractors concerning his personal life and habits had some validity, that Paine's whole life was "a series of contradictions," that he was "a great humanitarian but also a great egotist." Too, Aldridge contradicted the myth of Paine's "self-sacrificial pen" and declined to subscribe to the once popular "ragged philosopher" thesis. Finally, Aldridge concluded that Paine's writings on government, economics and religion are tied together by a

unifying theme--the concept of a parallel between the natural universe and the social system, between laws of science and laws of human relations, and that Paine struck out independently in extending the idea of first principles to politics and economics.¹⁴ In addition, Aldridge's careful organization, remarkable objectivity, and full chapter notes combined to make this the most valuable biography of Paine written in the twentieth century--certainly the most valuable for the serious reader, at any rate.

By and large, the opinions on Paine set forth in the reviews reflected those which Aldridge had finalized in the book. C. E. Jorgenson, in American Literature, thought that perhaps a bit too much stress had been placed on Paine as "an uncouth, unwashed, temperamental man" but concluded that "Mr. Aldridge has rightfully dramatized him as a new Adam heralding the birthday of a new world." Historian Richard Morris wrote of Paine in the New York Times as "a great man with huge flaws," one whose "whole career was a mass of contradictions." Aldridge's book he termed "judicious in temper, balanced and well-re-researched." Geoffrey Bruun, writing in the New York Herald Tribune spoke of Paine's failures as stemming "partly from his personal limitations, partly from the accidents of fortune" and found the biography itself to be "a tribute to the subject and the author." Howard Fast, in the Saturday Review, called attention to Aldridge's inability to recreate in his pages a "flesh-and-blood figure of a unique and tempestuous human being," seeing the book's great weakness

¹⁴ Alfred Owen Aldridge, Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1959), pp. 9, 317-22.

as "the failure to illuminate the very personality of the man who is the subject." Fast did, however, view the book on the whole as "valuable and thoughtful," especially Aldridge's assessment of Paine's role in history. The Library Journal's short review labeled it "a definitive and scholarly work," and the New Yorker carefully referred to it as a "sober book [which] attempts to arrive at a just estimate of Paine--no easy job. . . ." The only hostile review appeared in the New England Quarterly, which found "the literary inadequacies to be serious: deficient in style, the explanations too simple, interpretations loose." We almost feel a personal animus present here, since Aldridge's efforts were faulted at every turn by the reviewer, whose overall judgment was that the book "cannot be deemed a contribution to literature."¹⁵

Juvenile Biographies

The degree of eminence which Paine had achieved by 1970 both as a literary and an historical figure was evidenced, too, by the number of juvenile works which appeared after 1945. Almost completely ignored by the writers of young people's books during the first four decades of the century, Paine, in the twenty-five years following the Second World War, was the subject of no less than six juvenile biographies,

¹⁵The following citations are to reviews of Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine, by Alfred Owen Aldridge, and follow their order of appearance in the text. C. E. Jorgenson, American Literature, 32 (1960-1961), 210-12; Richard B. Morris, "Propagandist Extraordinary," New York Times Book Review, 15 Nov. 1959, p. 26; Geoffrey Bruun, "The Essence of Tom Paine," New York Herald Tribune Book Review, 16 Aug. 1959, p. 8; Howard Fast, "The Mind that Moved Three Nations," Saturday Review, 15 Aug. 1959, p. 34; George E. Farley, Library Journal, 84(1959), 2635; New Yorker, 12 Sept. 1959, p. 200; Stephen R. Graubard, New England Quarterly, 33(1960), 124-26.

several of which were superior in every way to most of the popular biographies aimed at adult readers. While space does not permit examination of all these books (see annotated bibliography), two may be singled out for mention. Tom Paine: Freedom's Apostle (1957), by Leo Gurko, was notable for its simple yet cogent explanations of complex and clouded issues in Paine's life, such as the Silas Deane affair. It was notable, too, for its refusal to gloss over what must inevitably be viewed as Paine's human weaknesses. Olivia E. Coolidge's Tom Paine, Revolutionary (1969) was unusual for its introduction, which offered a comparison of Paine and Marx, a consideration which concluded that "both were men of ideas rather than action, Marx being the thinker and Paine the propagandist."¹⁶ Unusual, too, was the author's choice of a straight expository format rather than the dialogue approach employed by most writers of juvenile works. Mrs. Coolidge eschewed sentimentalizing and, like Gurko, pointed out Paine's vices as well as his virtues. While these two books would have their greatest appeal among upper grade readers, others, such as Grace N. Brett's The Picture Story and Biography of Tom Paine (1965), were aimed at readers in the lower grades and offered views of Paine which, while imaginative, were uncritical.

Interest in Paine was further evidenced by the publication of two plays during this period. In 1954 Joseph Lewis, an ardent Paine devotee, came forth with The Tragic Patriot, an unwieldly and unplayable drama in five acts and twenty-five scenes. Set in Paris between 1792 and 1802, the play offered a parade of over a hundred characters

¹⁶ Tom Paine, Revolutionary (New York: Scribner's, 1969), p. vii.

who paused on stage only long enough to engage in stilted dialogue with the central figure. After 237 pages of this actionless fare, Paine sailed away into the setting sun for America, while his friend Clio Rickman, perched on the bulkhead of the dock, waved a last farewell and uttered a few lines of doggerel.

While Lewis' drama was never staged, Paul Foster's Tom Paine: A Play in Two Parts (1967) achieved some degree of public recognition. Parts of it were produced by experimental theatre groups in San Francisco and New York, and the entire play was first performed at the Edinburgh Festival in 1967. A highly innovative playwright, Foster made use of such contemporary theatrical devices as multiple dialogue, improvisations, audience participation, and telescoped time sequences. Incidents in Paine's life were dramatized in stylized fashion. For example, the Silas Deane affair was conceived as a chess game, the chessmen-actors moving about on a board represented by a black and red patent leather groundcloth. One of the most unusual features of the drama, however, was the conception of Paine, whom Foster divided into two personalities--a real self and a reputation--played by different actors. In this fashion he was able to depict in a most graphic manner not only Paine's ideals but also his arrogance and conceit.

Books

While books published during the 1942-1970 period having sections devoted to Paine exhibited no specific trend concerning his reputation, the very diverse nature of those books suggests that Paine has in the past three decades achieved a literary and historical prominence sufficient to attract the attention of writers with widely differing

disciplinary interests. In 1942, for example, Paine was the object of consideration in government propaganda works, published theological lectures, and round-table radio programs.

There were Giants in the Land (1942), a collection of propagandistic essays "suggested" by the Treasury Department, set forth a view of Paine which was light on factual truth but heavy in patriotic fervor. Significant, though, were the overt efforts to remove the vestiges of tar and feathers from "'the spark plug' of the American Revolution." "Until very recently," wrote the author on Paine, "this great, this restless, this immensely important American, has been held in misesteem, and in many cases hated, by the vast majority of those who have inherited the country which, in a certain way, more than any other man he helped to make." And further on: "Paine, under the stress, under the impetus, of present events, is coming, after 150 years of neglect and misunderstanding and insult, once again into his own . . . more and more people are beginning to recognize him as one of the fifty or so greatest Americans."¹⁷ Another related work--on the subject of propaganda--was Gorham Munson's 12 Decisive Battles of the Mind, an anthology of decisive propaganda masterpieces. In the chapter devoted to the propaganda of the American Revolution, Munson labeled Paine "the first modern propagandist" and referred to him as "the calumniated propaganda-hero of the American Revolution."¹⁸ In 1942, too, the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Invitation to Learning" featured a round-table

¹⁷Strothers Burt, "Thomas Paine," in There Were Giants in the Land (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942), pp. 104-13.

¹⁸12 Decisive Battles of the Mind (New York: Greystone Press, 1942), pp. 32-80.

discussion of Paine and Burke, the participants in the dialogue being Professors Lyman Bryson, Jacques Barzun, and Mark Van Doren. As moderator, Van Doren concluded that "both men are needed; we have to have men who argue about principles."¹⁹ The year's most carefully considered opinion of Paine, however, was offered in F. J. McConnell's Evangelicals, Revolutionists and Idealists. One of a series of lectures delivered at Drew Theological Seminary, the essay on Paine interpreted The Age of Reason in the light of modern Protestant theology and saw past opposition to Paine as attributable, not to religious heresy, but to social heresy--"the heresy of opposition to social privilege." Paine, argued Bishop McConnell, was under what he termed the "bad men theory of history" and failed to see that historic institutions (the church) were not "ingeniously contrived instruments of exploitation but were created to meet inevitable human needs." Paine's theology, McConnell concluded, was not so much false as inadequate.²⁰

The 1943 work on Paine of most significance was T. V. Smith's published lecture "Thomas Paine: Voice of Democratic Revolution," originally delivered at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. Concerned with identifying the essential features of American democracy, Smith established a working definition for the term "revolutionary" and then applied these criteria to Paine, finding

¹⁹Mark Van Doren, The New Invitation to Learning (New York: Random House, 1942), pp. 368-83.

²⁰Francis John McConnell, Evangelicals, Revolutionists and Idealists: Six English Contributors to American Thought and Action (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942), pp. 101-31.

him "a true and model revolutionary . . . long on ideals, short on habits, and pithy with impatience." Following a categorical analysis of Paine's revolutionary philosophy, Smith concluded that ". . . we do well to mix a modicum of piety with our pride, and drop a grateful thought, if not also in each anniversary season a reverent tear, upon the long neglected grave of Thomas Paine. He too was gadfly to ever graceless tyranny. He was and is the west wind of human hope, harbinger in darkness of our democratic way."²¹ Another work of some note of the same year was Sidney Warren's American Freethought, 1860-1914, which attempted to account for the reorientation of opinion regarding Paine which took place toward the end of the nineteenth century. As the result of the emergence of a "secular and thoroughly democratic" frame of mind, Warren wrote, Paine's activities have come to be regarded as "a constructive and beneficial phase in the history of mankind," and the man himself has "achieved a respectability which would have horrified his own contemporaries."²²

Not until 1946 did Paine make another book appearance. Although he surfaced that year in several volumes, the treatment he received was not always reliable and the books themselves were of no great significance. For instance, the "popular" and uncritical account of Paine in Living Biographies of Famous Americans on one page referred to Paine as "this gaunt pamphleteer and on the next as having an

²¹T. V. Smith, "Thomas Paine: Voice of Democratic Revolution," in The Philosophy of American Democracy, ed. Charner M. Perry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 1-27.

²²American Freethought, 1860-1914 (1943; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1966), pp. 110-116.

"athletic frame."²³ Similarly, Fighters For Freedom dispensed Paine ready-wrapped as "a Hero of Liberty in Three Countries," noting at the outset that he was a man "whose influence . . . has been vastly underestimated and who has only recently begun to attain his full stature as an apostle of freedom. . . ."²⁴ The Paine Historical Society came forth, too, with a booklet on Paine's citizenship record by T. D. Scoble, "an authority on common law"--or so claimed the preface. After marshalling all the pertinent facts, Scoble concluded that "Paine became a citizen of the United States at the time of the Declaration of Independence and retained that citizenship to the date of his death."²⁵

The principal book of 1947 to be mentioned is Joseph Lewis' Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence, "a flimsy structure of allegations, half-truths and surmises which are either fantasies, misconceptions or downright falsehoods,"²⁶ as one reviewer termed it. One of the most vocal in the band of Paine admirers, Lewis here disburdened himself of the "secret conviction that Thomas Paine was entitled to the laurels of immortality and to the thanks and gratitude

²³Henry Thomas and Dana Lee Thomas (H. T. Schnittkind and D. A. Schnittkind), Living Biographies of Famous Americans (Garden City, New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1946), pp. 23-33.

²⁴Harlan E. Read, Fighters For Freedom (New York: McBride, 1946), pp. 198-203.

²⁵Thomas D. Scoble, Jr., Thomas Paine's Citizenship Record (New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1946), pp. 5, 31.

²⁶Richard D. Challenger, rev. of Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence, by Joseph Lewis, William & Mary Quarterly, 4(1947), 379.

of the human race" by concocting an elaborate thesis that Paine actually drafted the Declaration at Jefferson's behest, that he had, in fact, already written it when he drafted Common Sense. He supported his claim with such evidential points as the use of capital letters, the word "hath," and certain repeated phrases. Paine never admitted he was the author because of his sense of "national honor," Lewis fatuously concluded. As might be surmised, the reviewers of the book, mostly historians, regarded it with something less than enthusiasm. J. P. Boyd called it "an amazing agglomeration of hypothesis, inference, garbled quotations, non sequiturs and generalizations that include everything in their sweep." S. E. Morison wrote that "Mr. Lewis's arguments . . . hardly need refutation," while F. G. Wilson wielded the axe in the kindest manner possible: "Professors," he wrote, "should . . . show some modesty when they evaluate the work of those outside the ranks of professional scholars. Joseph Lewis . . . makes this difficult."²⁷

In spite of the best efforts of partisans such as Lewis, shades of the old Paine lingered on. The brief sketch in Brief Biographies of Famous Men and Women (1949) depicted Paine as dying "poor, ill, dissipated and drunk."²⁸

²⁷The following citations are to reviews of Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence, by Joseph Lewis, and follow their order of appearance in the text. Julian P. Boyd, "An Amazing Argument," New York Times Book Review, 6 Apr. 1947, p. 22; Samuel E. Morison, American Historical Review, 52(1947), 799; Francis G. Wilson, American Political Science Review, 41(1947), 602-03.

²⁸W. Stuart Sewell, Brief Biographies of Famous Men and Women, PermaBooks (New York: Garden City Publ., 1949), pp. 91-92.

Throughout the 1950's Paine continued to make frequent appearances, always meriting substantial and deferential treatment in those works having to do with the spirit of liberalism in American philosophy. In the revised edition of his popular Political Philosophies (1950), for example, C. C. Maxey termed Paine "one of the most widely read, and one of the most influential, political writers who ever lived . . . Few men," concluded Maxey, "did more than Thomas Paine to make political democracy a fact."²⁹ Brother Dominic Elder's 1951 doctoral dissertation on Paine's common man philosophy, submitted to and published by Notre Dame University, reached the following general conclusions: (1) Paine was not original in the sense that he developed a new political philosophy; (2) he urged representative democracy, which he termed republicanism; (3) deism was closely allied with his republicanism. While Elder's view of The Age of Reason was restrained, the old Catholic bias clearly showed through the patronizing preachment that "supernatural truths are not contrary to reason although they are above the scope of reason."³⁰

While Elder's work had only limited appeal, R. B. Downs' Books That Changed the World (1956) aimed at capturing a wide audience among the general reading public by offering brief explications of sixteen books "which have had a powerful impact upon humanity." Concluding his discussion of Common Sense, Downs said of Paine: "This was the man who perhaps more than any other deserves the title 'Founder of American

²⁹Chester C. Maxey, Political Philosophies, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1950), pp. 400-01.

³⁰The Common Man Philosophy of Thomas Paine, Diss., Notre Dame, 1951 (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University, 1951), pp. 9, 133-34.

Independence."³¹ Quite a different work was B. G. Gallagher's essay "Tom Paine" in the collection Great American Liberals (1956). Attempting to save him from the Red Menace, Gallagher stridently called on Americans to rescue Paine "from those who wear his mask to hide their own treachery," and rather petulantly he stated that "the Communists have no right to claim Tom Paine as a patron saint."³² G. W. Johnson, on the other hand, used Paine to illustrate his thesis in The Lunatic Fringe (1957) that the American society must not use legal or extra-legal means to suppress opinion: "The story of the American people's dealings with Thomas Paine is one of the most deplorable revelations of a national weakness," he maintained.³³ Paine's religious beliefs were examined by Norman Cousins in his 'In God We Trust': The Religious Beliefs and Ideas of the American Founding Fathers (1958). Cousins accounted for the hostility aroused by The Age of Reason by reasoning that Paine did not recognize that "most people could accept blunt and rough political argument but were considerably more sensitive in the field of religion."³⁴

The same themes continued to be played upon by writers throughout the decade of the Sixties. In Great Dissenters (1961) Norman Thomas, like Johnson, developed the thesis that society suppresses its

³¹Robert B. Downs, Books That Changed the World, A Mentor Book (New York: New American Library, 1956), pp. 28-40.

³²Buell G. Gallagher, "Tom Paine," in Great American Liberals, ed. Gabriel Richard Mason (Boston: Star King Press, 1956), pp. 3-13.

³³Gerald White Johnson, The Lunatic Fringe (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957), pp. 21-32.

³⁴'In God We Trust': The Religious Beliefs and Ideas of the American Founding Fathers (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 389-443.

dissenters at its peril. Concluding a readable summary of Paine's career, Thomas wrote that "nothing in Paine's life or character extenuates the vicious abuse heaped upon him by pamphleteers and certain biographers."³⁵

Ray B. Browne's The Burke-Paine Controversy: Texts and Criticism, a casebook for college composition courses, reflected the popularity as well as the respect accorded Paine in the mid-Sixties. "Now, although he is not recognized by all liberals as their intellectual progenitor, he is deeply respected as a great humanitarian spirit," wrote the editor in the preface.³⁶

The religious aspect of Paine also continued to be seen frequently in the writings of this period. I. M. Thompson's The Religious Beliefs of Thomas Paine (1965), a published master's thesis, investigated the various statements and passages that Paine wrote concerning religion and concluded that he was a deeply religious man, and that the results of his thinking can be seen in present day Unitarian and Universalist movements.³⁷ Similarly, Arnold Smithline's Natural Religion in American Literature (1966) traced the course of natural religion as expressed in the writings of representative figures from Ethan Allen to Whitman, seeing in Paine's work a foreshadowing of modern studies of Frazer and Davies. Too, Smithline pointed out the resemblances

³⁵Great Dissenters (New York: Norton, 1961), pp. 93-128.

³⁶The Burke-Paine Controversy: Texts and Criticism (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), p. viii.

³⁷Ira M. Thompson, Jr., The Religious Beliefs of Thomas Paine (New York: Vantage Press, 1965), p. 121.

between Paine's deism and transcendentalism.³⁸ Howard Mumford Jones selected Paine as the representative American writer of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary decades in Belief and Disbelief in American Literature (1967). Dealing with the problem of Paine's belief, Jones concluded that Paine was "trying to equip America with a forward-looking religion. For him deism and democracy went hand in hand."³⁹

Two final works from this period must be merely mentioned. R. M. Gummere's Seven Wise Men of Colonial America (1967) examined Paine's attitude toward the Greek and Latin classics and found him to be a "classicist malgré lui,"⁴⁰ and R. B. Downs, improving upon his successful formula, in 1970 issued Books That Changed America, identifying and explicating "those writings which have exerted the greatest impact on our national history, direct or indirect."⁴¹

Periodicals And Newspaper Accounts

Nowhere is the increasing interest--indeed, the resurgence of interest in Paine better illustrated than in the number of articles appearing in periodicals and journals during the 1942-1970 period. A somewhat arbitrary chronological breakdown shows the following pattern of distribution: 1942-1945-- 20 articles; 1946-1948--7; 1949-1953--15; 1954-1960-- 19; 1961-1970-- 21. This distribution, which totals

³⁸Natural Religion in American Literature (New Haven.: College University Press, 1966), pp. 40-45.

³⁹Belief and Disbelief in American Literature (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 1-23.

⁴⁰Richard M. Gummere, Seven Wise Men of Colonial America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 81-96.

⁴¹Robert B. Downs, Books That Changed America (New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 1-13.

82, does not include the 51 articles from the New York Times. Nor was the interest limited to any one particular type of publication. While the scholarly journals claimed a substantial share of the articles, popular periodicals, such as Reader's Digest and the now-defunct Collier's and American Mercury, also made frequent appearances on the list. Indeed, Paine was offered for every preference: historians found him in the American Historical Review; literati in PMLA; economists in Southern Economic Journal; aesthetes in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism; bibliographers in Bulletin of Bibliography; sophisticates in the New Yorker; hobbyists in Hobbies; antique buffs in Antiques. The list could go on and on.

As noted earlier in this study, Paine has always elicited a lion's share of favorable attention during time of war, and the American people have gone to war--of both the hot and cold variety--at fairly regular intervals throughout the twentieth century. This points out an essential irony concerning Paine's reputation: this man, who abhorred war, is, to a great degree, indebted to it for the repute which he at the present time enjoys. Numerous examples can be cited of the uses made of his propagandistic writings in the war effort of the 1940's as well as the accolades accorded him as a person. Addressing the nation on the progress of the war early in 1942, President Roosevelt concluded his speech with a quotation from The Crisis.⁴² A few months later the New York Times called the Clements Library publication of selections from Paine's Crisis letters "a timely contribution to public

⁴²"Pres. Roosevelt's Address to Nation on America's Progress in the War," New York Times, 24 Feb. 1942, p. 4, col. 7.

morale."⁴³ In 1943 an American air squadron stationed in Britain presented to the people of Thetford in memory of Paine a memorial plaque to be affixed to the house where he was born.⁴⁴ And in 1945, as the war neared its end, the city of New Rochelle (representing a grateful nation, we almost feel), in public ceremonies presided over by the mayor, officially "restored" to Paine his citizenship rights.⁴⁵ The New York Times editorialized: "Now it is possible to forget his small weaknesses and to remember his great virtues and services."⁴⁶ The signal event for Paine's reputation, however, was his election in 1945 to the Hall of Fame. Taking notice of this high honor, F. G. Melcher wrote in Publisher's Weekly: "His place among our immortals has long been secure in the opinion of those who have studied the forces which made for liberalism and democracy in the young republic . . . [and] it has remained for this period of war and debate of fundamental issues to realize what Paine's great pamphlets did in forming public opinion."⁴⁷

⁴³ Philip Brooks, "Notes on Rare Books," New York Times Book Review, 17 May 1942, p. 18, col. 3.

⁴⁴ "Plaque to Thomas Paine Is Unveiled in Britain," New York Times, 22 Oct. 1943, p. 4, col. 6. The plaque read as follows: "A champion of the rights of the common man from whose pen came the voice for the democratic aspirations of the American republic, this simple son of England lives on through the ideals and principles of a democratic world for which we fight today."

⁴⁵ "Paine, Barred From Voting 139 Years Ago, Has Citizenship 'Restored' by New Rochelle," New York Times, 5 July, 1945, p. 4, col. 3.

⁴⁶ Editorial, New York Times, 6 June 1945, p. 10, col. 3.

⁴⁷ Frederic G. Melcher, "Authors to the Hall of Fame," Publisher's Weekly, 148(1945), 2127.

Even many of the articles which wafted down from the windows of academe to find their places on the pages of scholarly journals seemed to be, in their own way, contributions to the war effort. Howard Penniman put forward a re-examination of Paine's ideas "in an era when we are fighting to preserve and extend a heritage of freedom."⁴⁸ Darrel Abel, writing about the progress of Paine's thought, concluded by remarking at length on the application he could see in 1942 of Paine's favorite ideas, referring specifically to the conflicting democratic and Nazi ideologies.⁴⁹ And Dixon Wecter, writing in the Virginia Quarterly Review, offered an unusual--but penetrating--analysis of Paine as anti-hero, tracing the curve of his reputation in order "to learn something about hero worship in reverse." Sketching in Paine's reputation up to 1942, Wecter concluded that "posterity has not done him justice."⁵⁰ In addition to the more scholarly essays, many admiring mini-biographies appeared throughout the war years in such periodicals as Common Ground, Negro History Bulletin, Scientific Monthly, New Masses, American Mercury, and Reader's Digest.⁵¹

⁴⁸"Thomas Paine--Democrat," American Political Science Review, 37(1943), 244.

⁴⁹"The Significance of the Letter to the Abbe Raynal in the Progress of Thomas Paine's Thought," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 66(1942), 176-90.

⁵⁰"Hero in Reverse," Virginia Quarterly Review, 18(1942), 243, 258.

⁵¹Kent Pellett, "He Dreamed America," Common Ground, 3(1942), 97-98; Edith F. Wyatt, "Thomas Paine," Negro History Bulletin, 6(1943), 80, 93-94; Ralph C. Roper, "Thomas Paine: Scientist-Religionist," Scientific Monthly, 58(1944), 101-111; Howard Fast, "Who Was Tom Paine?" New Masses, 27 Feb. 1945, pp. 23-24; W. E. Woodward, "Tom Paine," American Mercury, 61(1945), 72-79; Max Eastman, "Tom Paine: Crusader for Common Sense," Reader's Digest, March 1944, pp. 78-84.

During the post-war years, Paine received little notice. A solitary letter to the New York Times quoted him on the matter of price control, and a short article in 1948 noted that the Borglum statue had finally been unveiled in Paris.⁵² Attention in periodicals was similarly scanty. The chartering of the United Nations elicited a call from Collier's for the world organization to adopt Paine's proposed rainbow flag as its official emblem.⁵³ Two articles on Paine as a rationalist in the Nation and the South Atlantic Quarterly,⁵⁴ and a friendly essay in Records of the American Catholic Historical Society⁵⁵ completed the dossier of significant articles for the 1946-1948 period.

As America's involvement in the Korean conflict deepened, a predictable flurry of interest in the Revolutionary patriot materialized. Statues and busts were unveiled, plaques and tablets dedicated, commemorative dinners and essay contests held, patriotic eulogies delivered by distinguished citizens, memorial plates subscribed, inscribed, and sent winging across the Atlantic to Thetford--all of which was dutifully reported by the New York Times between 1949 and 1953.⁵⁶

⁵²Fritz Van Opel, Letter to the Editor, New York Times, 10 Oct. 1946, p. 26, col. 7; "France Honors Thomas Paine," 3 Feb. 1948, p. 28, col. 5.

⁵³Jack H. Pollack, "Rainbow over the World," Collier's, 6 July 1946, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁴Perry Miller, "Thomas Paine, Rationalist," Nation, 162(1946), 228-32; Shelby T. McGloy, "Rationalists and Religion in the Eighteenth Century," South Atlantic Quarterly, 46(1947), 468-82.

⁵⁵John J. Meng, "Thomas Paine, French Propagandist in the United States," Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc., 57(1946), 1-21.

⁵⁶See New York Times section of bibliography (1949-1953).

Periodicals, too, reflected the war situation. The first serious American defeat in the winter of 1950 called forth from the New Republic a reprinting of Paine's famous first Crisis letter and a comparison of the present situation to those bleak days of 1776.⁵⁷ A month later Collier's made the same comparison, observing that "his words are as apt today as when they were written" and that Paine, if he were alive, would write the same words.⁵⁸

The first of a continuing series of articles began to flow from the prolific pen of A. O. Aldridge in 1949. Previously mentioned as a biographer of Paine, Aldridge first appeared with an essay on the subject of Paine and the North American Bank, basing the article on some previously unprinted letters which Paine had originally published in the Pennsylvania Gazette. The following year (1950) he again appeared in print, discussing various unpublished writings of Paine in Pennsylvania newspapers, and in 1953 he published in the New-York Historical Society Quarterly a substantial article on Paine's contribution to the New York Public Advertiser, again basing his study on pieces not included in the latest edition of Paine's collected writings.⁵⁹

⁵⁷"Say Not That Thousands are Gone," New Republic, 25 Dec. 1950, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁸"The Price is Not Too Great," Collier's, 27 Jan. 1951, p. 78.

⁵⁹Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Why Did Thomas Paine Write on the Bank?" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 93(1949), 309-15; "Some Writings of Thomas Paine in Pennsylvania Newspapers," American Historical Review, 56(1950-1951), 832-38; "Thomas Paine and the New York Public Advertiser," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, 37(1953), 361-83.

One particularly interesting event of this period was the "discovery" of the Jarvis portrait of Paine in 1950. Known to have been painted but unlocated for more than a century, the painting was found and authenticated by H. E. Dickson, who wrote that this "unquestionably authentic portrait of Paine can be given rightful recognition as the last and at present only located painting from life of one who played an effective role in the founding of our nation."⁶⁰

Often embroiled in controversy while he was alive, Paine was in 1955 again the subject of a local fray which received national attention. When a group of Paine's admirers sought to erect a statue of him in Providence, Rhode Island, the mayor intervened and blocked the action, turning down the statue offer "because Paine was and remains so controversial a figure."⁶¹ The Civil Liberties Union promptly dispatched a telegram of protest to the mayor and blamed the rejection on the predominately Roman Catholic population of the state.⁶² The mayor remained intractable and, in fact, not only rejected a revised offer but also turned down the offer of a site as well.⁶³ Henry Steele Commager, the noted historian, utilized this local flap in an ingenious article for the Saturday Review, which he constructed as a dialogue between Paine and an imaginary chairman of the board reviewing Paine's

⁶⁰Harold E. Dickson, "The Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, 34(1950), 11.

⁶¹"Thomas Paine is Still too Controversial, so Providence Doesn't Want Statue of Him," New York Times, 23 Sept. 1955, p. 27, col. 6.

⁶²"Rejection of Tom Paine Statue Inflames Civil Liberties Union," New York Times, 24 Sept. 1955, p. 21, col. 4.

⁶³"Providence Rejects Paine Statue, Park," New York Times, 7 Oct. 1955, p. 27, col. 6.

credentials to determine whether or not a statue should be authorized in the city of Providence.⁶⁴ America, a national Catholic weekly, sided with the mayor, stating that he "understated the feelings of many of his people when he said that Paine is 'so controversial a character.'"⁶⁵

While attention such as this perhaps failed to enhance Paine's reputation among the general public, the academic mills continued to grind out a steady stream of researched essays. Professor Aldridge was able to tuck three more pieces into his publications folder, writing on Paine's poetry (1955), detailing in another study Paine's plan for a military invasion of England (1957), and in a third tracing the influence of his concepts of reason and liberty throughout the western world (1959).⁶⁶ Colonel Richard Gimbel, a curator at the Yale University Library and a well-known collector of Paineiana, also wrote several articles, one of which took as its subject the resurgence of Paine. Gimbel concluded that "succeeding generations have seen the smoke screen of personal abuse around Paine gradually disappear, allowing him to stand forth as the greatest advocate of democracy,

⁶⁴"Tom Paine Talks Back To Providence," Saturday Review, 24 Dec. 1955, pp. 5-7, 32.

⁶⁵"Two Statues," America, 94(1955-1956), 32.

⁶⁶"The Poetry of Thomas Paine," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 79(1955), 81-99; "Thomas Paine's Plan for a Descent on England," William & Mary Quarterly, 14(1957), 74-84; "The Influence of Thomas Paine in the United States, England, France, Germany, and South America," in Comparative Literature, ed. Werner P. Friedrich, No. 24 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), II, 369-83.

social security, and freedom of thought the world has yet seen."⁶⁷ In the same year (1959), Yale University Library opened an exhibit of items from the Gimbel collection in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Paine's death.⁶⁸ Other significant essays of the 1954-1960 period were Harrison T. Messerole's study of W. T. Sherwin, an early Paine biographer; Leo Bressler's readable study of Cobbett's appropriation of Paine's bones and their posthumous travels; and Hans Arnold's lengthy and closely documented PMLA article on the reception of Paine's writings in Germany.⁶⁹

While the impression has been given that the traditionally hard line maintained in the Catholic press underwent a progressive softening as the century unfolded, instances of the old animosity could be found as late as 1958. In that year Records of the American Catholic Historical Society carried an article entitled "The Death of Thomas Paine" which depicted Paine as "an unkempt, boorish, and nearly atheistical radical . . . at the very least guilty of dishonesty, betrayal of trust, and an authentic drunkard." Following this deprecatory introduction, the remainder of the article was made up of the Fenwick letter, which was purportedly a truthful relation of a visit to the dying Paine

⁶⁷"The Resurgence of Thomas Paine," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 69(1959), 109.

⁶⁸Colonel Gimbel later published the exhibit catalogue as "Thomas Paine Fights for Freedom in Three Worlds: The New, The Old, The Next." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 70(1960), 397-492.

⁶⁹"W. T. Sherwin: A Little-Known Paine Biographer," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 49(1955), 268-72; "Peter Porcupine and the Bones of Thomas Paine," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 82(1958), 176-85; "Die Aufnahme von Thomas Paines Schriften in Deutschland," PMLA, 74(1959), 365-86.

by two Catholic priests bent on saving the soul of the tortured patriot.⁷⁰

During the decade of the Sixties America once more went to war, although so imperceptibly and so far removed from the homeland did the Southeast Asia imbroglio develop that Paine was never trotted out to pump up patriotism as had been the case in past wars. Instead, his admirers concentrated on raising funds for yet another statue (destined for Thetford this time) to commemorate the 227th anniversary of his birth. Reminiscent of the Providence debacle, one member of the Thetford town council resigned in protest, calling Paine "a traitor and anarchist."⁷¹ After much prodding the United States Post Office finally issued a Paine stamp, but at the public ceremonies marking the issuance freethinker Joseph Lewis walked out after objecting to the reading of an invocation and a benediction.⁷² And in 1970 the Hall of Fame for Great Americans announced the striking of a medal honoring Paine.⁷³

As might be expected, Paine fared well in the journals during the 1961-1970 period, though he was virtually ignored in the popular press. Professor Aldridge turned out his three articles, seemingly exhausting all the literary scraps left over from his 1959 biography

⁷⁰Donald Connally, "The Death of Thomas Paine," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, 69(1958), 119-23.

⁷¹Clyde H. Farnsworth, "Paine Is Honored By British Town," New York Times, 8 June 1964, p. 7, col. 1.

⁷²"Advocate of Thomas Paine Walks Out at Stamp Rites," New York Times, 31 Jan. 1968, p. 38, col. 4.

⁷³Thomas V. Haney, "American Heritage to be Emphasized," New York Times, 15 Mar. 1970, sec. 2, p. 39, col. 2.

of Paine.⁷⁴ C. F. Gosnell asked in American Notes and Queries (1963) was Paine an Albany Mason? and Richard Gimbel replied no, he thought not.⁷⁵ Similarly, Bernard Suits argued in the pages of Nineteenth-Century Fiction with R. B. Browne's interpretation of Billy Budd which saw Captain Vere as representing Burke and Billy as representing Paine. "Browne seems to be the victim of an elaborate delusion . . .," Suits concluded.⁷⁶ Paine's relationship to radicalism was studied by Matthew Hodgart and Cecelia M. Kenyon in 1962,⁷⁷ while M. O. Kistler investigated the role played by German-American liberalism in Paine's reputation. The immigrant Germans, maintained Kistler, were the first to resurrect him to his proper niche in history, and it was they, furthermore, who first aroused Conway's interest in Paine.⁷⁸ And, finally, in 1969, J. W. Knudson offered a finely detailed analysis of the attack made on Paine by the Federalist press when he returned to America.⁷⁹

⁷⁴"Thomas Paine and Comus," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 85(1961), 70-75; "Thomas Paine and the Classics," Eighteenth-Century Studies, 1(1968), 370-80; "Thomas Paine in Latin America," Early American Literature, 3(Winter, 1968-1969), 139-47.

⁷⁵Charles F. Gosnell, "Thomas Paine an Albany Mason?" American Notes & Queries, 2(1963), 22-23; Richard Gimbel, "Thomas Paine an Albany Mason," American Notes & Queries, 3(1964), 24.

⁷⁶Ray B. Browne, "Billy Budd: Gospel of Democracy," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 17(1962), 321-37; Bernard Suits, "Billy Budd and Historical Evidence: A Rejoinder," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 18(1963), 288-91.

⁷⁷Matthew Hodgart, "Politics and Prose Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Radicals," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 66 (1962), 464-69; Cecelia M. Kenyon, "Republicanism and Radicalism in the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 19(1962), 153-82.

⁷⁸Mark O. Kistler, "German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine," American Quarterly, 14(1962), 81-91.

⁷⁹J. W. Knudson, "The Rage Around Tom Paine: Reaction to His Homecoming in 1802," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, 53(1969), 34.

Anthologies, Literary Histories, And
Literary Criticism

The notably consistent view of Paine put forward in the anthologies, literary histories, and works of literary criticism sampled from the 1942-1970 period suggests that the re-evaluation which had begun late in the nineteenth century, had by the 1940's, been completed, and furthermore, that this view, disseminated to a burgeoning college population through certain popular and widely used texts, would continue to dominate throughout the remainder of the century.

The "standard" approach to Paine that was to be echoed over and over in the numerous anthologies published in the years following World War II could be seen first in Jones and Leisy's revised and enlarged edition of Major American Writers (1945). Howard Mumford Jones, a prominent literary critic who had in the past evinced a singular coolness toward Paine, here offered an appraisal notably free of any denigrative overtone. Utilizing a primarily biographical framework for their introductory remarks, Jones and Leisy made two principal judgments which exemplified the "standard" view of Paine in the 1942-1970 period: (1) The Age of Reason was termed "nothing more than a statement of deistic principles in the light of the scientific theory of its day" and seen to contain "nothing that had not been formulated by others"; (2) and the genius of Paine was seen to lie, not in the profundity of his thoughts, but in his absorption of the ideas that others were fumbling with and "in stating them in bold, direct, and unmistakable language which rises at times to eloquence."⁸⁰

⁸⁰Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, eds., Major American Writers, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945), pp. 121-23.

Similarly, the second edition of Ellis, Pound, Spohn, and Hoffman's A College Book of American Literature (1945) stressed that the religious views set forth in The Age of Reason were similar to those held by enlightened Christians today.⁸¹

With the increased emphasis placed on higher education and the swelling college enrollments in the years following the war, a ready market was created for texts, and there was soon a large number of new and revised works available. One of the most successful of these new anthologies was Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart's The Literature of the United States (1946), a book so popular and so widely used that a revised edition was called for in 1953 and yet a third edition in 1966. Certainly the pronouncements in such a text would not only reflect current scholarly opinion but also would go far in popularizing that opinion. To some extent the biographical headnote showed the influence of Fast's popular novel when it initially spoke of Paine's "private hells of physical and mental torture." Further on, the editors noted that Paine still remained a controversial figure, that "he wrote always for a purpose, and some of his purposes are still anathema to large groups of people." About his merits as a writer, they continued, there could be little disagreement, and their final judgment was that Paine was "a master of persuasion rather than a profound or original thinker." A separate brief headnote to the reprinted segment of The Age of Reason generally put forth conclusions reached previously by Clark, emphasizing that the literal Biblical interpretation stemmed from the fact that

⁸¹Milton Ellis, et al., eds., A College Book of American Literature: A Briefer Course, 2nd ed. (New York: American Book, 1945), p. 77.

Paine was a child of his time and thoroughly committed to the Newtonian world view, that his "outspoken deism and anticlericalism were tempered by an earnest belief in a benevolent God and the perfectibility of man."⁸²

Spiller's Literary History of the United States, the principal work of literary criticism to be mentioned, appeared in 1948 and quickly became recognized as an accepted standard. In his remarks on Paine, Spiller, too, emphasized the idea that Paine's beliefs in the ability of natural reason to govern and the conviction "that all men were united in the fellowship of freedom" were not original ideas, that Paine had no profound appreciation of their meaning, but that the strength of his appeal lay in his masterful use of rhetoric. Calling his books "the range-lights of liberalism," Spiller evinced no hesitation in concluding that Paine "in giving memorable expression to American life at its most decisive moment . . . made his place in the formative literature of the new republic."⁸³

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the numerous anthologies examined from the years 1950 to 1970 was the striking similarity found in the introductory headnotes on Paine. Beginning with E. H. Cady's Literature of the Early Republic in 1950 and ending with Willis Wager's American Literature in 1968, the view was consistently put forward that Paine was a victim of "a reaction in politics and camp-meeting

⁸²Walter Blair, et al., The Literature of the United States: An Anthology and a History, 2 vols. (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1946), I, 326-28.

⁸³Robert E. Spiller, et al., Literary History of the United States, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1948), I, 137-41.

evangelicalism," that "only in the present century have the slander and disgrace worn away to reveal Thomas Paine's true stature as one of the great figures of the early years of American democracy," and that his works are "classic examples of the techniques of the literature of persuasion."⁸⁴ A. H. Quinn's The Literature of the American People (1951), an historical and critical survey, reached the same conclusions, almost point for point, labeling Paine "not a profound thinker or an accurate scholar, but . . . one of the few geniuses of all time in the art of popular persuasion."⁸⁵ Then in 1956 E. H. Cady, along with F. J. Hoffman and R. H. Pearce, edited the two-volume Growth of American Literature, which suggested that Paine's dishonor and impoverishment "tells more of significance about what happened in America than it does about Paine," that he was systematically victimized by the Federalists, who used The Age of Reason as so much political ammunition.⁸⁶ At the same time, W. F. Taylor's one-volume literary history, The Story of American Letters (1956), approvingly spoke of Paine as "one of the principal thinkers of the American Enlightenment. . . ."⁸⁷

One additional anthology that remains to be mentioned is The American Tradition in Literature, popularly known as the Norton

⁸⁴ Edwin H. Cady, ed., Literature of the Early Republic (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1950), p. 19; Willis Wager, American Literature: A World View (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 40-41.

⁸⁵ Arthur Hobson Quinn, et al., eds., The Literature of the American People (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 151.

⁸⁶ Edwin H. Cady, et al., eds., The Growth of American Literature, 2 vols. (New York: American Book, 1956), I, 162-63.

⁸⁷ Walter Fuller Taylor, The Story of American Letters (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1956), p. 48.

Anthology, edited by Sculley Bradley, Richard Croom Beatty, and E. Hudson Long. Originally published in 1956, the Norton, like the Blair, Hornberger, Stewart before it, gained such widespread acceptance that it was revised in 1962 and again in 1967 as the third edition. Having the most finely detailed introduction to Paine of any anthology examined, the Norton set forth essentially the same view, however: Paine possessed "the journalistic ability to make vigorous restatements of the popular liberal thought of the eighteenth century" and his excellence lay in "the fiery ardor and determination of his words, the conviction of his courageous and indomitable spirit, and the sincerity and passion of his belief in the rights of the humblest man."⁸⁸

Histories

Those histories, historical biographies, and secondary and college level texts sampled from the 1942-1970 period revealed that the penchant so clearly discernible in the Thirties for labeling Paine as a "fiery-eyed radical" or "rebel-by-instinct" had almost completely disappeared. Far more obvious, in fact, was the inclination on the part of writers during this time to refrain from attaching labels at all, preferring, rather, to identify Paine with such innocuous terms as "the former corset-maker" or simply "an immigrant Englishman." Of the more than fifty books examined, only three used the term "radical"

⁸⁸ Sculley Bradley, Richard Croom Beatty, E. Hudson Long, eds., The American Tradition in Literature, 2 vols. (New York: Norton, 1956), I, 231-32.

in characterizing Paine.⁸⁹ Far more common was the appellation of such bland identifying tags as the following: "Franklin's protégé," "an Englishman who had come to live in America," "a common sense philosopher," "an impoverished corset-maker's apprentice," "a journalist," "a young and obscure recent arrival from England," "a civil servant turned pamphleteer," "that indefatigable leveler," "a young Englishman of Quaker family."⁹⁰ "Drum-major in the pageant of independence" was perhaps the most colorful descriptive epithet applied.⁹¹

In most of the books examined, the writers' primary concern, moreover, was to establish the significance of Paine's Common Sense in the context of the larger Revolutionary movement. While some of the authors dispensed their considerations of this pamphlet in a single paragraph

⁸⁹Curtis P. Nettels in The Roots of American Civilization (New York: Crofts, 1945), termed Paine "a restless English adventurer in radicalism and idealism" (p. 656); John B. Rae and Thomas H. D. Mahoney in The United States in World History, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955) referred to him as "an Englishman whose radical ideas had made him unacceptable in his own country. . . ." (p. 112); and Harry J. Carman, et al., in A History of the American People (New York: Knopf, 1960) applied the terms "social misfit" (I, 188) and "radical" (I, 251).

⁹⁰Herbert M. Morais, The Struggle for American Freedom: The First Two Hundred Years (New York: International, 1944), p. 137; Gertrude Van Duyn Southworth and John Van Duyn Southworth, The Story of Our America (Syracuse, New York: Iroquois, 1951), p. 103; Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution (New York: Harcourt, 1955), p. 72; Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1956), p. 107; Michael Kraus, The United States to 1865 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 216; Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 129; Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, The Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), I, 207; Gertrude Hartman, America: Land of Freedom (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1952), p. 169.

⁹¹L[ouise] Lamprey, Building A Republic (New York: Stokes, 1942), p. 65.

(notably the high school texts), others devoted as much as several pages to it, variously describing it as "epochal," "his remarkable pamphlet," "a clever appeal to colonial self-interest"--one writer even fancifully termed it "Tom Paine's bomb . . . exploding in the imagination of every literate American."⁹²

During the past thirty years historians have frequently turned their close attention to one or another of the principal figures of the Revolutionary period--Jefferson, Franklin, Washington--and their investigations have often culminated either in biographies or in critical studies. Since Paine was very well known to the early national leaders--indeed, was almost a confidante at times in his career--the recent published studies about these figures should reveal something of the current opinion of historians toward him.

Of the randomly selected books dealing with Jefferson, all had space devoted to Paine, most mentioning him numerous times, although none gave extensive consideration. Some, like S. K. Padover in his Jefferson (1942), merely noted the effects of Paine's famous pamphlets and the later Federalist mud-flinging which resulted when the President received Paine into his home in 1802. Padover identified Paine as "a corset-maker by trade, a journalist by profession, and a propagandist by inclination . . . who scandalized the Tories."⁹³ Marie Kimball,

⁹²John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution (Boston: Little, Brown, 1943), pp. 467-73; Lynn Montross, The Reluctant Rebels: The Story of the Continental Congress 1774-1789 (New York: Harper, 1950), pp. 112-15; Dexter Perkins and Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The United States of America: A History, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), I, 147-48; Avery Craven and Walter Johnson, The United States: Experiment in Democracy (Boston: Ginn, 1947), p. 98.

⁹³Jefferson (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942), pp. 49-50.

on the other hand, referred to Paine simply as "an Englishmen who had emigrated to America" and pointed out his "gift of dramatic expression" (Jefferson: The Road to Glory, 1943).⁹⁴ Similarly neutral were the remarks of Dumas Malone in his three-volume Jefferson and His Time (1948, 1951, 1962). While Malone offered no adulatory portrait in his numerous references to Paine, neither did he credence the slanderous allegations so frequently made in the past. Dealing with Jefferson as a scientist, E. T. Martin had frequent occasion to refer to Paine, who shared a similar interest, and here again were found no denigrative overtones. John Dos Passos' The Head and Heart of Thomas Jefferson (1954) set forth a somewhat Fastian picture of Paine as "the old exciseman [who] reeked of the rum and radicalism of too many back rooms of taverns,"⁹⁵ as did Adrienne Koch's Jefferson and Madison (1964), which labeled him the "inspired revolutionary propagandist, the journalistic hero of the American Revolution."⁹⁶ The picture seemed to stick, for in 1968 Leonard Wibberly in Man of Liberty described Paine as "an unprepossessing man with a whining kind of voice and a wasted physique . . . given to bouts of heavy drinking and heavier repentance." Wibberly did caution, however, that most of the discrediting stories of Paine's last years were merely gossip.⁹⁷ And, finally, the issue of Paine was

⁹⁴Jefferson: The Road to Glory (New York: Coward-McCann, 1943), pp. 279-81.

⁹⁵The Head and Heart of Thomas Jefferson (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1954), p. 178.

⁹⁶Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 81-82.

⁹⁷Man of Liberty: A Life of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1968), pp. 338-39.

brought up more than twenty times in M. D. Peterson's exhaustive biography Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation (1970), being first referred to as "a commoner by birth, a radical by temperament, a revolutionist by profession," and toward the end as "lonely, unloved, literally a man without a country." Peterson, too, was careful to point out that "the darts [the] Federalists flung at Paine were really meant for Jefferson."⁹⁸

The books having George Washington as their subject which were examined all gave some attention to Paine, but in all cases the considerations were brief and centered primarily around the influence which Common Sense had in congealing sentiment favoring separation. One of the most recent works, J. T. Flexner's George Washington in the American Revolution (1967), had occasion to refer to Paine at least six times, yet the author never applied any of the usual identifying epithets.⁹⁹

In none of the sampled books did Paine suffer at the authors' hands because of his caustic open letter to Washington, written following his release from the French prison. One writer, in fact, rationalized it as resulting from Paine's "natural revolutionary temperament."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 85, 711-13.

⁹⁹ James Thomas Flexner, George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783) (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), pp. 67-68, 171, 256, 261, 519-20, 547.

¹⁰⁰ John Alexander Carroll and Mary Wells Ashworth, George Washington: A Biography, vol. VII: First in Peace (New York: Scribner's, 1957), pp. 427-28.

While it would seem that A. O. Aldridge, a Paine biographer, would give him preferential treatment in his several books on Franklin, such was not the case. While he accorded Paine several mentions in his earliest Franklin book (1957), they remained just that--mentions of an entirely neutral character.¹⁰¹ His later biography, Benjamin Franklin: Philosopher & Man (1965), gave much more attention to Paine, yet here again Aldridge refrained from formulating adjectival judgments. References to Paine as "a former customs inspector" and "one of Franklin's most loyal admirers" constituted the extent of his label-pinning.¹⁰²

Summary

It is difficult to assess in a succinct yet inclusive fashion the 1942-1970 era. Generally regarded as an age of prosperity and affluence, it was, at the same time, an age of war and strife. Between the periods of "hot" warfare, a debilitating "cold" war called forth anxiety over the internal and external security of the nation. While it was an age which saw a reaffirmation of fundamental civil--Paine would have called them "natural"--rights of citizens, it was an age, too, in which a militant Radical Right sought to suppress divergency of opinion. It was an age of tremendous scientific and technological advancement, yet this knowledge which enabled man to propel great vehicles into space and plumb the oceans' depths could not reconcile him to lasting peace.

¹⁰¹ Alfred Owen Aldridge, Franklin and his French Contemporaries (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 88, 201, 219, 224.

¹⁰² Benjamin Franklin: Philosopher & Man (Philadelphia & New York: Lippincott, 1965), p. 243.

Concerning Paine's reputation during this period, the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) The number of editions of Paine's works and the almost unqualified approval they received suggests that at mid-point in the twentieth century he was regarded as a figure of some substance in American literature. (2) While almost all of the biographies produced after 1900 were so biased as to be useless to the serious reader, the carefully researched Life written by A. C. Aldridge in 1959 and the numerous juvenile biographies produced in the years after 1945 attest, too, to the continuing interest in Paine not only among the more scholarly readers but also among the general reading public. (3) Citizen Tom Paine, Howard Fast's popular novel of 1943, also kept Paine before the public and in doing so exerted a decided influence on his reputation throughout the next two decades. (4) While Paine has always been touted as a great patriot and his contributions to the cause of freedom emphasized during periods of war, numerous writers during the period of the cold war of the late Forties and early Fifties presented him as a representative of democracy; on the other hand, other writers used him to illustrate the dangers of suppression of dissent. (5) The large number of articles which appeared in both popular and scholarly journals pointed out the resurgence of interest and the critical esteem which Paine commanded at mid-century. Although most of the material in the popular press appeared during war years and stressed the "forgotten patriot" motif, the volume of studies in the more scholarly journals was maintained at a steady rate and even increased in the two decades following 1950. (6) The Catholic hard-line, which progressively softened as the century advanced, did

not disappear completely, however, and Paine seemed to be in 1970 still a somewhat "suspect" figure in the official eyes of that religious body. (7) Works of literary history, literary criticism, and anthologies generally acknowledged Paine to be a controversial figure still; his value, moreover, was seen to lie, not in the profundity or originality of his thought, but in his masterful use of his powers of persuasion, this alone being sufficient to merit him a place in the history of American letters. (8) Throughout the twentieth century, historians exhibited less inclination than writers in other fields to perpetuate the old "infidel" slander; on the contrary, they tended to restrict their view solely to considering Paine's contributions to the cause of American independence. This was manifestly apparent in the 1942-1970 period, when, to a great degree, the practice of characterizing by descriptive epithets was eschewed almost entirely. This is not to suggest, however, that historians regarded as any less significant the value of Paine's work.

VI. CONCLUSION

While the first two decades of the twentieth century saw estimations of Paine's worth which ranged from lavish praise to bitter denunciation, the overall tendency during these years indicated an increasingly tolerant and appreciative appraisal of the man and his work. The 1900-1920 period saw Paine ardently championed by a vocal minority of Thomas Paine National Historical Association members and, in turn, bitterly attacked by the Catholic press and others holding strictly orthodox religious views. More carefully considered appraisals appearing in scholarly journals, however, approached the controversial religious writings in a more tolerant manner, discussing them in terms of their relation to eighteenth-century deism rather than as offensive, heretical works. Literary histories and anthologies of the period, while they usually included some consideration of Paine, tended to grant only grudging admiration to his revolutionary pamphlets and deplored The Age of Reason. From the historians and political scientists, however, Paine generally received sympathetic attention, these writers tending to emphasize the importance of his writings for the cause of American independence and ignoring the religious issue. Always accorded increased interest during wartime, Paine received a considerable amount of favorable attention during the years of World War I, and he was nominated, although not elected, to the Hall of Fame in 1920.

During the post-war decade of the Twenties, Paine's increasing respectability was attested by the appearance of several editions of his writings, editions whose balanced, critical introductions were written by scholars like Carl Van Doren and Arthur W. Peach. In this decade, too, appeared the first of a long series of "popular" biographies of Paine. These works, although generally favorably reviewed, were characterized by such a militant pro-Paine bias, however, that they were virtually useless to any but the general reader. Gamaliel Bradford's influential Damaged Souls (1922), which put forth a view of Paine as a rebel bent on destruction as a way of achieving his idealistic goals, called forth a good deal of response in the periodical press and was destined to exert a significant influence on the course of Paine's reputation in the following decade. While the religious writings tended, overall, to become less of an issue in the Twenties, the two extremes of adoration and aspersion continued to be seen, with the Catholic press maintaining its traditionally hard line. V. L. Parrington, one of the most influential critics of the literature of America in the twentieth century and one of the few writers of the 1920's to deal with Paine as a social critic, offered in Main Currents in American Thought (1927) an estimation notable for its praise of Paine's political and social philosophy. While the literary historians and compilers of anthologies continued to give short shrift to the colonial period, historians and political theoreticians, on the other hand, seldom sounded any note of effusiveness or extreme abuse in the works sampled from the 1921-1929 period. Their critical opinions tended to be carefully considered, carefully framed, and limited to

analyses of Paine's most significant writings of the American Revolutionary period.

Bradford's "Paine-as-rebel" thesis tended to dominate the 1930-1941 period, being clearly discernible in the several introductory essays to new editions of Paine's writings. The appearance during this decade of four new popular biographies and Harry Hayden Clark's several scholarly studies which examined Paine as a proponent of scientific deism and as a significant contributor to social, economic, and political change indicated a sustaining--indeed, a growing--interest in Paine not only among the general public but also among members of the academic community. With its strong social consciousness, the temper of the Thirties proved to be especially congenial to the "specialist-in-revolutions" motif and many anthologists and literary historians modified earlier judgments to reflect this now-popular view. A sampling of histories written in the 1930-1941 period, reflecting, too, the concern for social consciousness as well as the influence of the Marxist-oriented minority, frequently presented Paine as a "fiery-eyed-radical." This view, however, diminished as the decade drew to a close. There was throughout the period a noticeable absence of the old hostility toward The Age of Reason.

During the complex and often turbulent 1942-1970 era, Paine's position as both a prominent and a respectable figure in American literature was solidified. The numerous editions of his works in both hard and soft covers kept him before a voracious reading public and were received by critics with almost unqualified approval. The appearance during these years of several biographies, two novels,

and three dramas further indicated his continuing popularity. While Paine received a great deal of favorable attention during World War II and the Korean conflict, being touted in the popular press as America's foremost patriot, he was, at the same time, the object of an ever increasing number of critical studies. While literary historians and anthologists recognized Paine as a controversial figure still, they tended to stress the idea that the persuasive quality of his writings, not the originality or profundity of his thought, was sufficient to merit him a lasting place in the history of American literature. And, as in the preceding periods, historians in the 1942-1970 era continued to view Paine with notable objectivity, treating his contribution to the cause of independence and eschewing almost entirely the practice of applying descriptive epithets. Whereas in 1900 almost every consideration of Paine raised the old "infidel" spectre, either to affirm or refute it, writers in 1970 rarely ever gave serious attention to it; only in the Catholic press could scattered echoes of the "atheist" charge still be heard.

INTRODUCTION TO BIBLIOGRAPHY

Because of continuing interest in Thomas Paine by historians, literary scholars, and the general reading public, a complete and updated bibliography of the works and criticisms seems called for. Specifically, this bibliography expands Harry Hayden Clark's selective bibliography, originally published in 1944 and revised in 1961,¹ and is intended to serve the scholar as a guide to the critical and scholarly studies of Paine since January, 1900.

The bibliography is arranged in the following manner: (1) The Works of Paine, sectioned as Complete Works, Collections, and Individual Works. Because many editions from early in the century bear no publication date, these works have been listed separately (alphabetized by title) and their numbers preceded by an asterisk, indicating that they have been verified in the United States Catalog as having been published after January, 1900. This unit group, with the exception of the undated works, is arranged chronologically. (2) Adult and Juvenile Biographies. (3) Novels. (4) Dramas. (5) Dissertations and Theses. (6) Books. (7) Pamphlets. (8) Periodicals. (9) Book Reviews. The title of the book (cross-referenced) precedes each set of reviews. (10) Items from the New York Times (arranged chronologically). (11) Literary Histories, Anthologies, Reference Works. This section is not

¹Thomas Paine: Representative Selections, rev. ed. (1944; New York: Hill and Wang, 1961).

inclusive, listing only those works mentioned in the text. Unless otherwise indicated, each of the foregoing sections utilizes an alphabetical arrangement by author or title, and each entry includes all known publication data which might prove helpful to a user of the bibliography.

The final part of the bibliography is a subject index of the entries classified according to content. These entries are arranged in the following categories: Paine Biography; Paine Bibliography; Paine's Religious Beliefs; Paine as Economic Theorist; Paine as Political Theorist; Paine as Propagandist; Paine as Prose Stylist; Paine as Poet; Paine as Inventor, Scientist; Paine as Journalist; Paine in Novels, Dramas.

Each entry deemed to be of significance has been annotated and, in general, adheres to the form employed by Clark. While all lengthy articles and essays (over three pages) and short articles and essays which seem significant have received annotation, some very short articles which are apparently insignificant or whose titles accurately suggest their content have not been annotated.

As far as possible, the bibliographic form adopted by the Modern Language Association and specified in the MLA Style Sheet (2nd ed.) has been followed in the preparation of this bibliography.

AN ANNOTATED AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS

PAINE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Works

Complete Works (Arr. Chronologically)

1. Life and Writings of Thomas Paine. 10 vols. Ed. and annot. by Daniel Edwin Wheeler. New York: Vincent Parke, 1908. Vol. I contains Rickman's biography, Erskine's defense of Paine, and appreciations by Paul Desjardins, Leslie Stephen, R. G. Ingersoll, Elbert Hubbard, and Marilla Ricker.
2. The Writings of Thomas Paine. 4 vols. Ed. Moncure D. Conway. Pop. Ed. 1914; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967. Vol. I, viii + 445 pp.; vol. II, 523 pp.; vol. III, xv + 436 pp.; vol. IV, xxiii + 521 pp.
3. The Complete Works of Thomas Paine. 2 vols. New York: Eckler, 1922. Vol. I, religious and theological works; vol. II, political and miscellaneous works.
4. The Life and Works of Thomas Paine. Patriot's Ed. 10 vols. Ed. by William M. Van der Weyde. New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1925.
5. The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine. Coll. and ed. by Philip S. Foner. 2 vols. 1945; rpt. New York: Citadel Press, 1969. Vol. I, lxii + 632 pp.; vol. II, xvi + 1520 pp. Including much new material, this edition, aimed at both the general reader and the student, utilizes modern spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Introductory biographical essay presents Paine, not as the conventional "restless rebel," but as a world citizen and democrat whose unique pen was moved by events around him. Throughout, the account is restrained, well-researched, and documented. Other features include a chronological table of Paine's writings, a selected bibliography, and substantial editorial notes prefacing each major work. The fullest and most usable edition of Paine yet published.
6. The Complete Works of Thomas Paine. 2 vols. New York: Freethought Press, 1957.

Collections

Undated Collections (Arr. Alphabetically)

- *7. The Poetical Works of Thomas Paine. Chicago: Donohue, n. d.
- *8. _____. New York: Eckler, n. d.
- *9. The Political Works of Thomas Paine. 2 vols. New York: Eckler, n. d.
- *10. _____. Chicago: Donohue, n. d.
- *11. The Principal Political Works of Thomas Paine. New York: Eckler, n. d.
- *12. Religious and Theological Works of Thomas Paine. New York: Eckler, n. d.
- *13. The Theological Works of Thomas Paine. Chicago: Donohue, n. d.
- *14. _____. New York: Truth Seeker Press, n. d.

Dated Collections (Arr. Chronologically)

- 15. Common Sense; on the Origin and Design of Government in General; with Concise Remarks on the English Constitution; together with the American Crisis, 1776-1783. New York: Putnam, 1912. iii + 380 pp.
- 16. The Complete Religious and Theological Works of Thomas Paine, New Ed. 2 vols. New York: Eckler, 1917. 1792 pp.
- 17. Political and Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Paine. New York: Eckler, 1918.
- 18. Selections from the Writings of Thomas Paine. Ed. with introd. by Carl Van Doren. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922. xvi + 298 pp. Introduction depicts Paine as "the classic textbook of radical thought" for the Anglo-Saxon proletariat.
- 19. Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine. Ed. with introd. by Arthur Wallace Peach. New York: Harcourt, 1928. lii + 378 pp. Substantial 48-page introduction attempts to assess basic strengths and weaknesses of the more important writings and has a summary of each of the Crisis papers. Good comments on Paine's method and style.
- 20. The Works of Thomas Paine: His Epoch-Making Writings on Religion, Human Rights and International Relations. New York: W. H. Wise, 1934. ix + 1169 pp.

21. Complete and Unabridged Selections from the Writings of Thomas Paine. Washington, D. C.: National Home Library Foundation, 1935. 298 pp.

22. Thomas Paine: Selections from His Writings. Introd. by James S. Allen. New York: International, 1937. xxiv + 96 pp.
Doctrinaire introduction presents Paine as a bourgeois-democratic internationalist who offered a "direct challenge to the basic principle of capitalistic society." Much talk of "manifestoes," "masses," "revolutions" gives essay the flavor of a People's Republic lunch-break self-study pamphlet.

23. Six New Letters of Thomas Paine: Being 'Pieces on the Five Per Cent Duty addressed to the citizens of Rhode Island' Here First reprinted from 'The Providence Gazette' and Country Journal of 1782 and 1783. With introd. and notes by Harry Hayden Clark. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1939. xxxii + 63 pp.
Introduction assails the popular conception of Paine as a "rebel" and presents him as having more in common with the conservative element during the period before the French Revolution than with the radical element. Also describes in detail the controversy over the five per cent impost.

24. The Living Thoughts of Tom Paine. Ed. John Dos Passos. A Fawcett Premier Book, 1940; rpt. New York: Fawcett World Library, n. n. 160 pp. Introduction of 44 pages, primarily biographical, presents Paine as a fearless champion of the underdog, courageous and undaunted by adversity or opposition, unmindful of danger to himself. Very readable but strongly colored by the author's socialistic bias. Reprints Common Sense and excerpts from the other famous political writings.

25. Basic Writings of Thomas Paine: Common Sense, Rights of Man, Age of Reason. New York: Willey Book, 1942. 67 pp.

26. Thomas Paine: Representative Selections. With introduction, bibliography, and notes by Harry Hayden Clark. American Writers Series. New York: American Book, 1944. cli + 436 pp. Closely documented introduction expands Clark's thesis that Newtonianism exerted a greater influence on Paine than did his Quaker background. Notes on selections provide historical criticism, informative background, and succinct analysis. The most useful handbook available for a critical study of Paine's thought and style.

27. The Selected Work of Tom Paine. Ed. Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945. xiii + 338 pp. Brief introduction and concluding estimate admirably treat Paine as "a good man and a great man."

28. Selected Writings of Thomas Paine. Ed. with introd. by Richard Emery Roberts. New York: Everybody's Vacation Pub. Co., 1945. vi + 376 pp. Very brief introduction characterizes Paine as "the one-man propaganda bureau of the American Revolution." Reprints some of the Pennsylvania Magazine essays in addition to standard items.
29. The Selected Works of Tom Paine and Citizen Tom Paine. Ed. Howard Fast. A Modern Library Giant. New York: Random House, 1946. xiii + 640 pp.
30. Basic Writings of Thomas Paine: Common Sense, Rights of Man, Age of Reason. 3 vols. in 1. New York: Garden City Pub. Co., 1949. 265 pp.
31. Common Sense and Other Political Writings. Ed. with introd. by Nelson F. Adkins. American Heritage Series. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953. lli + 184 pp. Introduction of 50 pages reviews Paine's career, with special emphasis on the backgrounds of his political speculations. Useful bibliography and explanatory notes.
32. Inspiration and Wisdom from the Writings of Thomas Paine, with Three Addresses by Joseph Lewis. Ed. Joseph Lewis. New York: Freethought Press, 1954. 303 pp. A lengthy collection of quotations from Paine, ranging from one sentence to several pages. Also includes presentation speeches made at dedication of Paine statues in Paris and Morristown, N. J., and address delivered at unveiling of tablet marking New Rochelle burial site.
33. Common Sense and The Crisis. Dolphin Books. New York: Doubleday, 1960. 240 pp.
34. Thomas Paine: Representative Selections. With introd., bibliography, and notes by Harry Hayden Clark. Rev. Ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1961. clxiii + 436 pp. Introduction unchanged but bibliography brought up to date.
35. The Essential Thomas Paine. Introd. by Sidney Hook. A Mentor Book. New York: New American Library, 1969. xx + 287 pp. Introduction largely devoted to Rights of Man, which Hook regards as the only work of Paine that remains topical and relevant to contemporary concerns. Selections include complete text of Common Sense, major excerpts from Crisis essays, and both parts of Rights of Man.

Individual Works

Undated Individual Works (Arr. Alphabetically)

- *36. The Age of Reason. Chicago: Donohue, n. d.
- *37. _____. Chicago: Regan, n. d. 137 pp.
- *38. _____. Ed. Moncure D. Conway. New York: Putnam, n. d.
- *39. The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. New York: Willey Book, 19___. 256 pp.
- *40. Common Sense. New York: Eckler, n. d. A pamphlet.
- *41. _____. New York: Willey Book, n. d. 80 pp.
- *42. Examination of the Prophecies. New York: Truth Seeker Press, n. d. A pamphlet.
- *43. Rights of Man. Chicago: Donohue, n. d. A paperback.
- *44. _____. New York: Eckler, n. d. A paperback.
- *45. _____. New York: Truth Seeker Press, n. d. A paperback.
- *46. _____. New York: Willey Book, n. d. 288 pp.
- *47. Thomas Paine's Examination of the Prophecies: A Consideration of the Passages in the New Testament Quoted from the Old, and Called Prophecies Concerning Jesus Christ. New York: Truth Seeker Press, 19___. 48 pp.

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- 48. Recantation, Being an Anticipated Valedictory Address to the French Directory, New York: Printed for the Author, 1797. New Ed. with introd. by W. S. Giltner. Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard, 1902. 42 pp.
- 49. The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. New York: Eckler, 1915. 186 pp.
- 50. _____. New York: Truth Seeker Press, 1915. 180 pp.
- 51. Rights of Man. Ed. with introd. by G. J. Holyoake. New York: Dutton, 1915. 290 pp.
- 52. A Dialogue between the Ghost of General Montgomery and an American Delegate. New York: W. Abbott, 1916. 13 pp.
- 53. Common Sense. New York: Eckler, 1918. 66 pp.

54. The Crisis. New York: Eckler, 1918.
55. Agrarian Justice. In Pioneers of Land Reform. New York: Knopf, 1920.
56. Common Sense, by Thomas Paine. With preface by William M. Van der Weyde. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. xxvi + 129 pp.
Limited edition of 376 copies. Preface extravagantly praises Paine and his work.
57. The Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution, by Thomas Paine. 1915; rpt. New York: Dutton, 1935.
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61. The Rights of Man, Pt. I, Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution. Rpt. in A. Castell and M. J. S. Kuyper's, comps., Selected Readings in Social Criticism from Rousseau, Burke, and Paine. St. Paul, Minn.: Webb, 1946.
62. The Age of Reason. Ed. with introd. by Alburey Castell. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1948. xii + 59 pp. Brief introduction labels essay as a work of natural as well as rational theology, "a perennial minor classic in the history of theology in the modern world," and gives circumstances composition and publication. Reprints Part I only.
63. The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. 2 parts in 1. Baltimore, Maryland: Ottenheimer, 1956. 192 pp.
64. The Rights of Man. With introd. by Howard Fast and illus. by Lynd Ward. New York: Heritage Press, 1961. xvi + 269 pp.
65. _____. Ed. with introd. by Henry Collins. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969.
66. The Rights of Man, with Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. New York: Doubleday, 1969.

Biographies

67. Aldridge, Alfred Owen. Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine. Philadelphia & New York: Lippincott, 1959. 348 pp. The first twentieth-century biography of Paine to be based on original research in France and England as well as America. The objective quality, full chapter notes, and scholarly approach make this the best Life to date, even though Paine fails to emerge from the mass of re-research as a clear-cut figure. The definitive biography remains to be written.
68. Berthold, S. M. Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal. Boston: Meador, 1938. 264 pp. A popular biography which offers only unqualified praise of Paine in 36 short and undocumented chapters. Many basic errors in spelling, punctuation, and sentence structure. Presents no new material.
69. Best, Mary Agnes. Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 413 pp. A popular biography seriously marred by its too-strong use of the vernacular and its pronounced pro-Paine bias.
70. Conway, Moncure Daniel. The Life of Thomas Paine. 1892; rpt. New York: B. Blom, 1969. xvi + 352 pp. Most authoritative work on Paine produced in the nineteenth century. Modern critics find too much emphasis placed on the influence of Paine's Quaker upbringing.
71. Creel, George. Tom Paine--Liberty Bell. New York: Sears, 1932. 173 pp. Another effort on the part of a devoted admirer to salvage Paine's reputation from detractors, to erase "the black stain of a republic's ingratitude." No documentation, no bibliography, no new information. Violently partisan.
72. Gould, Frederick James. Thomas Paine. Roadmaker Series. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1925. Attempts to present Paine in an historical perspective. Limited scope of series prevented any detailed handling but the study is balanced and reasonably objective.
73. Hubbard, Elbert. Thomas Paine. East Aurora, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Assoc., [1915]. 31 pp. A pamphlet so admiring and effusive in its praise of Paine that it cannot be regarded as making any worthwhile contribution to knowledge.
74. Pearson, Hesketh. Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind. New York and London: Harper, 1937. ix + 293 pp. Free handling of sources and tendency to hero-worship render many parts suspect. Undocumented.

75. Remsburg, John E. Thomas Paine: The Apostle of Liberty. New York: Truth Seeker Press, 1917. 221 pp. An impassioned and adulatory work, the bulk of which is made up of extensive listing of quotations from various sources praising Paine. Very flowery, unreliable, and uncritical.
76. Smith, Frank. Thomas Paine: Liberator. New York: Stokes, 1938. 338 pp. The best of the popular biographies, this Life is clear, readable, and offers some new material. No documentation, bibliography, or index.
77. Woodward, W. E. Tom Paine: America's Godfather. New York: Dutton, 1945. 359 pp. A popular biography, it denies with monotonous repetition the various charges made against Paine through the years. Offers little in the way of interpretation. Eulogistic, undocumented, and uncritical.

Juvenile Biography

78. Brett, Grace Neff. The Picture Story and Biography of Thomas Paine. Chicago: Follett, 1965. 142 pp. Text is prefaced by a 16-page picture story. Grade school level.
79. Coleman, McAlister. Pioneers of Freedom. 1929; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968. pp. 1-14. Presents Paine as a freedom-fighter in the cause of the working man. Strong socialist slant.
80. Commager, Henry Steele. Crusaders for Freedom. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962. pp. 15-24. Presents Paine as a man made for trouble, a man who lived for revolution and crisis.
81. Coolidge, Olivia E. Tom Paine, Revolutionary. New York: Scribner's, 1969. 213 pp. From introduction, which compares Paine and Marx, to epilogue, which recounts scurrilous biographies that came after Paine's death, the author makes no attempt to whitewash him. Clear and perceptive analysis of principal writings. One of the best of the juvenile treatments.
82. Curtin, Andrew. Gallery of Great Americans. New York: Watts, 1965. p. 72. One-page account which emphasizes Paine's efforts to serve the cause of human liberty. Junior high level.
83. Del Vecchio, Thomas. Tom Paine: American. New York: Whittier, 1956. 165 pp. Devoted primarily to the American Revolutionary years, the book pictures Paine as "a forgotten American hero, waiting to be resurrected and placed in his proper high niche. . . ."

84. Fiedler, Jean. Great American Heroes. New York: Hart, 1966.
pp. 60-66. Short sketch presents Paine as the "Pamphleteer of the Revolution."
85. Gurko, Leo. Tom Paine: Freedom's Apostle. New York: Crowell, 1957. 213 pp. A well-written work which makes no attempt to gloss over Paine's shortcomings. Emphasizes, in fact, the contradictions in his personality. Good for upper grades.
86. Hawthorne, Hildegard. His Country was the World: A Life of Thomas Paine. New York: Longmans, Green, 1949. vii + 239 pp.
An informative and readable book useful to the high school student.
87. Law, Frederick Houk. Great Americans. New York: Globe, 1953.
pp. 42-47. "Thomas Paine, the Boy Who Ran Away to Sea" is a hodge-podge of facts about Paine's life and works.
88. McKown, Robin. Thomas Paine. Lives to Remember Series. New York: Putnam, 1962. 192 pp.
89. McNeer, May Yonge. Give Me Freedom. New York: Abingdon, 1964.
pp. 25-42. Paine's part in this illustrated series mainly concerns his involvement in the American Revolution. Fifth grade level.
90. Mudie, Jacqueline. Early Years: The Childhood of Famous People. Boston: Ginn, 1966. pp. 26-27. A large illustrated book containing short sketches on famous people so diverse as Erasmus and LBJ. Paine's two pages emphasize his Quaker staymaker background.
91. O'Connor, Richard. The Common Sense of Tom Paine. New York: McGraw Hill, 1969. 121 pp. Imaginative and well-written. Fifth grade level.

Novels

92. Fast, Howard. Citizen Tom Paine. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943. 341 pp. A vivid, fast-paced historical novel in which Paine emerges as a revolting yet compelling and appealing character, the first man to practice revolution as a sole reason for being. Eminently readable.
93. Levin, Benjamin H. To Spit Against the Wind. New York: Citadel Press, 1970. 569 pp. A sprawling "epic" novel which runs to great length in order to present Paine as a much-maligned tragic genius, an uncompromising idealist. Larger, but less effective, than the Fast novel.

Dramas

94. Foster, Paul. Tom Paine: a play in two parts. New York: Grove Press, 1967. A highly inventive play which utilizes multiple dialogue, improvisation, audience participation, telescoped time, stylized sets and action in order to present Paine as a multiple personality.
95. Lewis, Joseph. The Tragic Patriot: A Drama of Historical significance in Five Acts and Twenty-five Scenes. New York: Free-thought Press, 1954. Exhibiting a total lack of knowledge concerning the craft of playwrighting, the author structures the play as a series of long, stilted dialogues. Does not read well and would not act well.
96. Torrence, Ridgely. Common Sense: Play in One Act. New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1941. Paine converts a loyalist officer to the American cause.

Theses and Dissertations

97. Elder, Brother Dominic. The Common Man Philosophy of Thomas Paine: A Study of the Political Ideas of Paine. Diss. Notre Dame, 1951. 146 pp. This published dissertation, while it offers no startling or new insights, summarizes and expands many of the previously published studies of Paine's political philosophy.
98. King, Arnold Kimsey. "Thomas Paine in America, 1774-1787." Thesis. Chicago, 1951. Listed in Aldridge's "Notes" to his biography of Paine.
99. McCormack, James. "Evolution of Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense.'" Thesis. St. John's, [1948].
100. Mercer, Caroline. "The Rhetorical Method of Thomas Paine." Diss. Chicago, 1948.
101. Metzgar, Joseph Valentine. "Thomas Paine: A Study in Social and Intellectual History." Diss. New Mexico, 1965.

Books

102. Birrell, Augustine. "Thomas Paine." The Collected Essays & Addresses of the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell. 1922; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968. I, 292-300. Implied admiration at the beginning and deprecation at the end give this essay an ambiguous quality.

103. Bradford, Gamaliel. Damaged Souls. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1922. pp. 51-84. Exploits the "rebel" motif. Sees Paine as an idealist who thought he could best accomplish his ends by destructive rather than by constructive means.
104. Brailsford, H[enry] N[oel]. "Thomas Paine." Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle. Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 75. New York: Henry Holt, 1913. pp. 56-77.
Chapter 2 summarizes Paine's life and literary career in a cursory but sympathetic fashion, emphasizing his important place in the eighteenth-century British reform movement.
105. Bratton, Fred Gladstone. The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit: Men and Movements in the Making of Modern Thought. New York: Scribner's, 1943. pp. 121-42. Biographical essay full of praise for Paine and condemnation for his enemies. Too uncritical to be of scholarly worth.
106. Browne, Ray B. The Burke-Paine Controversy: Texts and Criticism. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963. 230 pp. Casebook format presents abridgements of Reflections and Rights, contemporary reactions, the twentieth-century criticism.
107. _____. "The Paine-Burke Controversy in Eighteenth-Century Irish Popular Songs." The Celtic Cross: Studies in Irish Culture and Literature. Ed. Ray B. Browne, William John Roscelli, and Richard Loftus. Purdue University Studies, 1964. pp. 80-97. Concludes that Irish popular songs expressed approval of Paine and strong disapproval of Burke and all he advocated.
108. Burt, Strothers. "Thomas Paine." There Were Giants in the Land. Introd. by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942. pp. 104-13. One of a collection of essays authorized by the Treasury Department on "the giants in our past" who stood up to a time of crisis with courage, ingenuity, and sacrifice. Praises Paine as the prophet of democracy.
109. Bury, John Bagnell. A History of Freedom of Thought. Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 69. New York: Henry Holt, 1913. p. 171. While the book as a whole summarizes the history of the long struggle between authority and reason, chapter 4 briefly treats of Paine as a deistic writer who regarded nature as God's revelation.
110. Cargill, Oscar. Intellectual America: Ideas on the March. New York: Macmillan, 1959, pp. 127-409.

111. Chapin, Anna Alice. Greenwich Village. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1917. pp. 145-70. A standard biographical treatment delivered in a chatty, rambling, but not unpleasant fashion. Interesting comment on the Greenwich Village of Paine's last years.
112. Conway, John Joseph. Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris. New York: John Lane, 1912. pp. 39-47. Chapter 5 summarizes in a rather cursory fashion Paine's years in Paris.
113. Cousins, Norman, ed. 'In God We Trust': The Religious Beliefs and Ideas of the American Founding Fathers. New York: Harper, 1958. pp. 389-443. Establishes Paine as a theophilanthropist, not an atheist. Reprints long excerpt from Age of Reason.
114. Crossman, R. H. S. Government and the Governed. New York: Pica Press, 1969. pp. 118-25. Brief discussion of Paine's political theories in terms of economic proposals, politics, and international relations.
115. Davidson, Philip. "Apostles of Freedom: Adams and Paine." The American Story: The Age of Exploration to the Age of the Atom. Ed. Earl Schenck Miers. Great Neck, New York: Channel Press, 1956, pp. 74-79. Short essay summarizes efforts of the "agitator and propagandist supreme" in the Revolutionary cause.
116. Downs, Robert B. Books that Changed America. New York: Macmillan, 1970, pp. 1-13. Brings earlier essay on Paine in Books That Changed the World up to date.
117. _____. Books That Changed the World. A Mentor Book. New York: New American Library, 1956. pp. 28-40. While a biographical account is included, the bulk of the essay is given over to an explication of Common Sense.
118. Fausset, Hugh I'Anson. Poets and Pundits. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947. pp. 235-44. Examines Paine's religious position as set forth in Age of Reason and concludes that "he was a deist and it was as a champion of deism . . . that he assailed the Bible."
119. Fichter, Joseph H., S. J. Roots of Change. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939. pp. 65-86. Considers Paine from standpoint of his importance in the history of the relationship between the classes of society.
120. Ford, Edwin H. and Edwin Emery, eds. Highlights in the History of the American Press. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. pp. 100-11. Reprints Frederick's 1859 Atlantic articles on Paine's wartime journalistic accomplishments.

121. Friedrich, Carl J. The New Belief in the Common Man. Boston: Little, Brown, 1943. pp. 5, 8-9. Concludes that Paine's belief in the common man, though ardent, lacked a convincing foundation, either in history or in psychology.
122. Gallagher, Buell G. "Tom Paine." Great American Liberals. Ed. Gabriel Richard Mason. Boston: Star King Press, 1956. pp. 3-13. An appeal to Americans to rescue Paine from the Communists. Of no use to the student.
123. Granger, Bruce Ingham. Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763-1783. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960. pp. 8, 10n, 219, 236, 244-46- 266n. Quotes from a number of poems in the popular press of 1776 which attacked Paine.
124. Gummere, Richard M. Seven Wise Men of Colonial America. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. pp. 81-96. Holds that Paine, in spite of his foreign language phobia, deserves a hearing as a "classicist malgre lui."
125. Hansen, Allen Oscar. Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Macmillan, 1926. pp. 22-43. The book as a whole studies the degree to which American life and institutions have been influenced by the liberal movement of the eighteenth century. It considers Paine as typical of the philosophy that forms the basis of the plans for a national system of education.
126. Hobsbawn, E. J. Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour. New York: Basic Books, 1964. pp. 1-4. A short essay discusses Paine as a spokesman for the self-reliant poor, a revolutionist whose actual political proposals were moderate.
127. Hollis, Christopher. The American Heresy. New York: Minton, Balch, 1930. pp. 14, 15, 35, 37, 42, 148. Speaks favorably of Paine as the "first of a long and happy band of trans-atlantic lecturers."
128. Horton, Walter Marshall. Theism and the Scientific Spirit. New York and London: Harper, 1933. pp. 51-57. Discusses Paine as a man of the Newtonian Age, one who made adjustments to new scientific ideas as soon as they were given to the world.
129. Johnson, Gerald White. The Lunatic Fringe. New York: Lippincott, 1957. pp. 20-32. Uses Paine to illustrate thesis that the "lunatic fringe" must be tolerated, that America must not resort to the use of legal or extra-legal means to suppress unpopular opinion.

130. Jones, Howard Mumford. Belief and Disbelief in American Literature. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967. pp. 1-23. Views Paine's religious writings as part of his effort to establish a new form of faith, a republican religion.
131. Keyser, Cassius J. Mole Philosophy & Other Essays. New York: Dutton, 1927. p. 58. One-page essay on Paine takes Teddy Roosevelt to task for maligning the memory of a noble man. Not so much for Paine as against the former President.
132. Koch, G. Adolph. Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason. 1933; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964. pp. 130-46. Chiefly details Paine's contributions to the cause of militant deism during his last years.
133. Lewis, Joseph. Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence. New York: Freethought Press, 1947. xix + 315 pp. An uncritical tirade which attempts, on the basis of superficial evidence, to prove that Paine, not Jefferson, wrote the Declaration in toto.
134. Link, Eugene Perry. Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800. 1942; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965. Paine mentioned numerous times in showing mass opposition to the anti-democratic tendencies of the period.
135. Lownsbury, Eloise. Saints and Rebels. New York: Longmans, Green, 1937. pp. 241-68. Essay on Paine as a humanitarian, aimed at juvenile reader, is colored by author's imagination and not always factually accurate.
136. McConnell, Francis John. Evangelicals, Revolutionists and Idealists: Six English Contributors to American Thought and Action. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942. pp. 101-31. A modern Protestant theologian concludes that Paine's theology was not so much false as inadequate. Some worthwhile comments on the Age of Reason controversy.
137. Maxey, Chester C. Political Philosophies. Rev. Ed. New York: Macmillan, 1950. pp. 384-402. Offers a concise and readable biography, an exposition of the principal writings, and an estimation. Good bird's-eye view of Paine.
138. Monahan, Michael. Nemesis. New York: Frank-Maurice, 1926. pp. 216-20. In a short chapter entitled "Two Heroes," the author criticizes Roosevelt for disparaging Paine, calling the famous epithet "an outrage to the hero of the Revolution."

139. Morais, Herbert M. Deism in Eighteenth Century America. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. pp. 19-20, 120-22, 163. Discusses Paine as one of the standard-bearers in the advance guard of liberalism who supported militant deistic movement in America prior to 1805.
140. Munson, Gorham. 12 Decisive Battles of the Mind: The Story of Propaganda During the Christian Era with Abridged Versions of Texts That Have Shaped History. New York: Greystone Press, 1942. pp. 32-80. Discusses Paine as the first modern propagandist and offers an interesting comparison between Trotsky and Paine, noting many points of similarity.
141. Neal, John. American Writers: A Series of Papers Contributed to Blackwood's Magazine (1824-1825). Ed. Fred Lewis Pattee. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1937. pp. 109, 170-71. Contains Neal's estimation of Paine as "a man whose memory is held in utter abomination throughout America.
142. Nicolson, Harold. The Age of Reason: The Eighteenth Century. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961. pp. 361-79. An otherwise balanced biographical account marred by acceptance of the now-disproved charges of drunkenness and adultery and several instances of factual inaccuracy.
143. Peterson, Houston, ed. A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954. pp. 255-63. Reprints Erskine's defense of Paine.
144. Read, Harlan Eugene. Fighters for Freedom: The Story of Liberty Throughout the Ages. New York: McBride, 1946. pp. 198-203. Short chapter summarizes Paine's career. Admiring.
145. Remsburg, John E. Six Historic Americans. New York: Truth Seeker Press, [1906]. pp. 25-61. While he praises Paine, the author's underlying motive is to refute Christian doctrine and expose false claims of the church. Offers no new insights.
146. Riley, I[ssac] Woodbridge. American Philosophy: The Early Schools. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907. pp. 296-304. Unlike Conway, Riley views Paine's "reason" not as an expansion of the Quaker's inner light, but as a "mere reflection of current deism."
147. Runes, Dagobert D. The Diary and Sundry Observations of Thomas Alva Edison. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. pp. 151-58. An admiring essay which deplores the fact that Americans do not revere Paine as a national hero.

148. Rusterholtz, Wallace P. American Heretics and Saints. Boston: Manthorne & Burack, 1938. pp. 107-44. Considers Paine's contributions to religious liberalism and progressivism in America. Seven-part structure deals with his reputation, life, political and economic philosophy, inventions, and religious beliefs.
149. Scherman, David E. and Rosemarie Redlich. Literary America: A Chronicle of American Writers from 1607-1952 with 173 Photographs of the American Scene that Inspired Them. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1952. p. 26. Three short paragraphs, mostly devoted to the Crisis letters.
150. Scoble, Thomas D., Jr. Thomas Paine's Citizenship Record. New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1946. 31 pp. An authority on common law claims that Paine became a citizen of the United States at the time of the Declaration and retained that citizenship to the date of his death.
151. Seager, Allan. They Worked for a Better World. New York: Macmillan, 1940. pp. 34-55. Superficial essay structured largely as a short biography. Considers Paine as "one of the great fighters for freedom."
152. Sewell, W. Stuart. Brief Biographies of Famous Men and Women. A Perma-book. New York: Garden City Pub. Co., 1949. pp. 91-92. A compact biographical sketch.
153. Smith, T. V. "Thomas Paine: Voice of Democratic Revolution." The Philosophy of American Democracy. Ed. Charner M. Perry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. pp. 1-27. Views Paine as a model revolutionary. An acute analysis of his revolutionary philosophy by a distinguished scholar.
154. Smithline, Arnold. Natural Religion in American Literature. New Haven, Conn.: College & University Press, 1966. pp. 40-55. Explicates The Age of Reason in terms of its relationship to the history of natural religion in America. Valuable.
155. Thomas, Henry, and Dana Lee Thomas (H. T. Schnittkind and D. A. Schnittkind). Living Biographies of Famous Americans. Garden City, New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1946. pp. 23-33. A factually unreliable and partisan account of Paine's life.
156. Thomas, Norman. Great Dissenters. New York: Norton, 1961. pp. 93-128. Readable biographical account of Paine illustrates thesis that heresy has always been the growing point of society. Depicts Paine as "a rebel, temperamentally a humanitarian, but not a saint."

157. Thompson, Ira M., Jr. The Religious Views of Thomas Paine. New York: Vantage Press, 1965. 134 pp. This published master's thesis compiles Paine's statements concerning religion and concludes that he was "the last outstanding advocate of the deistic movement."
158. Thomson, David. Political Ideas. New York: Basic Books, 1966. pp. 108-19. Briefly summarizes the democratic principles found in The Age of Reason.
159. Tufts, Frederick W. The Higher Intelligence. New York: By the Author, 1934. 46 pp. Largely incoherent work, 20 pages of which are quotations from The Age of Reason.
160. Ulmann, Albert. New Yorkers from Stuyvesant to Roosevelt. New York: Chaucer Head Book Shop, 1928. pp. 57-76. Biographical sketch with emphasis on last years of Paine's life. Readable but offers nothing new.
161. Van Doren, Mark. "Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine." New Invitations to Learning. New York: Random House, 1942. pp. 368-83. One of a series of radio broadcasts in which a panel made up of Lyman Bryson, Jacques Barzun, and Van Doren discussed the Reflections and Rights. Interesting, though has more about Burke than about Paine.
162. Warren, Sidney. American Freethought, 1860-1914. 1943; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1966. pp. 110-16. Concise summary of the reorientation of opinion toward Paine that occurred in the late nineteenth century.
163. Whittemore, Robert Clifton. Makers of the American Mind. New York: William Morrow, 1964. pp. 93-103. Uses Paine to illustrate the thesis that radical views on religion or politics can be economically as well as socially disastrous.
164. Winn, Ralph B., ed. American Philosophy. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. pp. 238-40. Very brief summary of Paine's career.

Pamphlets

165. Corey, W. A. Common Sense, A Reading of Thomas Paine's Revolutionary Pamphlet, 'Common Sense' in the Light of the Socialist Revolution. Los Angeles, 1906. 36 pp.
166. Memorial Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Paine. New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1909. 30 pp. Reprints the speeches given at the memorial celebration. Also includes Rowley's address to Brooklyn Philosophical Assoc.

167. Sherman, A. O. Thomas Paine, the Patriot. Rye, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1910. 24 pp.
168. Van der Weyde, William M. Roosevelt's Withdrawn Slander of Paine, 1921. Unpaged. A handmade pamphlet presented to the Library of Congress by the Paine Historical Association. Consists of two articles censuring Roosevelt by Van der Weyde clipped from the Truth Seeker and pasted onto blank pages.
169. _____. Who Wrote the Declaration of Independence? East Aurora, New York: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1911. Cites four examples of internal evidence as proof that Paine, not Jefferson, was the author. No documentation.
170. Washburn, L[emuel] K[elley]. Jesus and Paine. Boston: Boston Investigator Co., 1903. 13 pp. Attacks the established church through the person of Jesus and praises Paine as the liberator of a humanity shackled by fraudulent Christianity. Heavily biased and superficial.
171. Wilcox, Ella Wheeler. Lest We Forget. East Aurora, New York: Roycroft Shop, [1915]. 32 pp. An effusive testimony to Paine's merits. Ten pages of testimonials.

Periodicals

172. Abel, Darrel. "The Significance of the Letter to the Abbé Raynal in the Progress of Thomas Paine's Thought." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 66(1942), 176-90. Views the Letter as representing the stage in the progress of Paine's opinion where he actually ceased to think in nationalistic terms and became a practical internationalist.
173. Adams, Thomas R. "The Authorship and Printing of Plain Truth by 'Candidus.'" Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 49(1955), 230-48. A bibliographical study of the editions of a pamphlet written to answer Common Sense.
174. Adler, Felix. "Thomas Paine." Standard, 17(1936), 123-28. An address originally delivered in 1880 which concluded that Paine, though fundamentally wrong in his religious position, was "the brave and staunch champion of every form of human liberty which he understood."
175. Aldridge, Alfred Owen. "Why Did Thomas Paine Write on the Bank?" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 93(1949), 309-15. A previously neglected Paine letter relates the circumstances which led Paine to announce his adherence to the Bank of North America.

176. _____. "Some Writings of Thomas Paine in Pennsylvania Newspapers." American Historical Review, 56(1950-1951), 832-38. Discusses six items by Paine that do not appear in any of the collected works.
177. _____. "Thomas Paine and the New-York Public Advertiser." New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, 37(1953), 361-82. Discusses several newspaper pieces not included in the Foner edition. Aldridge believes that Paine had some official connection with the paper--"an editorial consultant or policy-maker."
178. _____. "The Poetry of Thomas Paine." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 79(1955), 81-99. A thorough review of Paine's poetry convinces Aldridge that some of it has sufficient merit to justify our attention to it as work of art.
179. _____. "Thomas Paine's Plan for a Descent on England." William and Mary Quarterly, 14(1957), 74-84. A detailed explanation of Paine's scheme for a military invasion of England.
180. _____. "The influence of Thomas Paine in the United States, England, France, Germany and South America." Comparative Literature. Ed. Werner P. Friederick. No. 24. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. II, 369-83. Paine considered himself a writer for the world at large and his works enjoyed a tremendous vogue in most of the countries where they were available.
181. _____. "Thomas Paine and Comus." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 85(1961), 70-75. Offers background information on the "Comus" essays and analysis of one particular essay in which Paine ridiculed the prose style of Drayton and Morris.
182. _____. "Thomas Paine and the Classics." Eighteenth-Century Studies, 1(1968), 370-80. Finds Paine fundamentally antagonistic toward the classics and uninspired by the classical tradition.
183. _____. "Thomas Paine in Latin-America." Early American Literature, 3(Winter, 1968-1969), 139-47. Discusses in some detail the impact which Paine made upon Camilo Henriquez, a Chilean revolutionary who disseminated Paine's ideas throughout that country.
184. Armstrong, Regina. "The Thomas Paine House at New Rochelle." House Beautiful, 54(1923), 558-63. Illustrated article, describing the house, its history, and the story of its removal to the present site.

185. Armytage, W. H. G. "Thomas Paine and the Walkers: An Early Episode in Anglo-American Co-Operation." Pennsylvania History, 18(1935), 16-30. Fully documented essay details the progress in the erection of the iron bridge in England. Best treatment available of this phase of Paine's career.
186. Arnold, Hans. "Die Aufnahme von Thomas Paines Schriften in Deutschland." PMLA, 74(1959), 365-86. Meticulously documented article on the reception of Paine's writings in Germany.
187. Backus, E. Burdette. "Thomas Paine and the Rights of Man." Unity, 118(1937), 190-91. A short, general article on the "first text-book of republicanism."
188. Barton, Bruce. "You Can't Kill Truth." Collier's, 24 April 1926, pp. 19, 32, 34. In this last of a series of articles on the Bible, Barton conceded that Paine "said some good things which ought to be remembered to his credit . . . but if the Bible sells one single copy less for anything Paine ever wrote about or against it, the sales reports do not show it."
189. Bement, Alon. "Some Portraits of Thomas Paine." Antiques, 56(1949), 34-35. Trying to verify a portrait, the author finds that there is no definitely verified original of Paine. Short discussion of extant portraits and ten illustrations.
190. Benet, William Rose. "The Phoenix Nest." Saturday Review, 23 Nov. 1946, p. 48. Reprints a letter from Joseph Lewis giving information on the plaque erected in Thetford by an American air group.
191. _____. "The Phoenix Nest." Saturday Review, 28 Dec. 1946, pp. 32-33. Reprints portions of several letters relating to Cobbett's removal of Paine's bones to England.
192. Berninghausen, David K. Letter to the Editor. Saturday Review, 14 Aug. 1943, p. 13. Defends Howard Fast's fictionalized conception of Paine.
193. Bernstein, Samuel. "English Reactions to the French Revolution." Science and Society, 9(1945), 147-71. Explores effects of Rights of Man in England during the period of the French Revolution
194. "A Best Seller That Helped 'To Begin the World Over Again.'" Senior Scholastic, 10 June 1964, p. 5. A short biographical account for the high school student. Stresses the importance of Common Sense.

195. Boynton, George R. "Thomas Paine." Americana, 5(1915), 881-93. Adulatory summary, based largely on Conway, of Paine's contributions to the American Revolutionary cause.
196. Boynton, H. P. "Correspondence." Unity, 119(1937), 18.
197. Bressler, Leo A. "Peter Porcupine and the Bones of Thomas Paine." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 82(1958), 176-85. A full, readable, documented account of the part Cobbett played in Paine's posthumous travels.
198. Brettauer, A. E. "Tom Paine." American Mercury, 61(1945), 635-36. A letter responding to earlier article by W. E. Woodward. See No. 328.
199. Brown, Theodore M. "Greenough, Paine, Emerson, and the Organic Aesthetic." Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 14(1955-1956), 304-17. Sees Paine as a forerunner of Greenough in the revolt against Jeffersonian Revivalism in art aesthetics.
200. Browne, Ray B. "Billy Budd: Gospel of Democracy." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 17(1962-1963), 321-37. Interpreting Billy Budd as a study in the conflict between opposing ideologies of liberalism and conservatism, Browne views Vere as representing Burke and Billy as representing Paine.
201. Calverton, V. F. "Thomas Paine: God-Intoxicated Revolutionary." Scribner's, 95(1934), 15-22. A "magazine biography" by a leading Marxist critic which depicts Paine as a revolutionary who saw the conflict between the old order and the new only in terms of its political perspective.
202. Catton, Bruce. "Is America Hospitable to Writers?" Saturday Review, 7 Sept. 1957, pp. 10-12, 36. Notes influence Paine as a writer had on national events during Revolutionary times.
203. "Chronicle and Comment." The Bookman, 47(1918), 432-34. Points out the discovery of Paine by writers of war effort propaganda and notes relevancy of much of the writings of Paine to situation at that time.
204. Clark, Harry Hayden. "An Historical Interpretation of Thomas Paine's Religion." University of California Chronicle, 35(1933), 56-87. The major premises of Paine's constructive religious thought are attributable, not to his Quaker devotion, as Conway claims, but to the influence of scientific deism as put forward by the popularizers of Newtonianism.

205. _____. "Thomas Paine's Theories of Rhetoric." Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 28(1933), 307-39. After concluding that he was not so ignorant of literary tradition as generally supposed, Clark postulates seven aims which Paine strove to achieve: (1) candour, simplicity, clarity; (2) boldness; (3) wit; (4) appeal to feeling as well as reason; (5) balance between judgment and imagination; (6) precise adjustment between language and ideas with reference to a definite audience; (7) ordering of sentences in an architectonic pattern designed to give them maximum effectiveness. Thoroughly documented.
206. _____. Letter to the Editor. Saturday Review, 10(1933-1934), 588. Requests information regarding unpublished letters or MSS of Paine.
207. _____. "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine." American Literature, 5(1933-1934), 133-45. While Quakerism helped to mold Paine's mind, scientific deism and humanitarianism inspired his widely influential theories on (1) religion, (2) politics, (3) economics, (4) social service, (5) education, (6) literary composition. A good summary of several previously elaborated themes.
208. _____. "The Influence of Science on American Ideas, From 1775 to 1809." Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 35(1943), 305-49. A valuable article discussing religious, political, humanitarian, and educational ideas in their relation to science. Most of the material on Paine in previous studies by Clark.
209. Colby, Elbridge. "Letters from Thomas Hardy to Thomas Paine." Nation, 106(1918), 589-91. Reprints two admiring letters from the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society.
210. Commager, Henry Steele. "Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence." Saturday Review, 24 Dec. 1955, pp. 5-7, 32. Imagined dialogue between a chairman of the board and Paine, whose credentials are being reviewed to see if he merits a statue in Providence, Rhode Island.
211. "Conflicting Estimates of Thomas Paine." Current Literature, 47(1909), 535-36. "The present indications are that posterity will preserve the favorable, rather than the unfavorable picture of Thomas Paine. His influence is steadily growing."
212. Connally, Donald. "The Death of Thomas Paine." Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, 69(1958), 119-23. A hostile view of Paine which terms him "an unkempt, boorish, and nearly atheistical radical."

213. Cordasco, Francesco. "Thomas Paine and the History of 'Junius': A Forgotten Cause Celebre." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 52(1953), 226-28. Short essay traces the course of the abortive movement to establish Paine as the author of the Junius letters.
214. Greel, George. "Tom Paine Champion of Liberty." Mentor. Part I, Sept. 1930, pp. 10-13, 46, 48, 50, 52; Part II, Oct. 1930, pp. 14-17, 64-67; Part III, Nov. 1930, pp. 23-25, 52-55; Part IV, Dec. 1930, pp. 30-32, 64-66. A four-part serialization of Paine's career aimed at the general reader. Later revised slightly and published in book form, the essays show the bias of a devoted Paine fan.
215. Groy, Homer. "Atheism Beckons to Our Youth." World's Work, 54(1927), 18-26. Primarily a description of the newly-formed American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.
216. Deltrick, Janet. Letter to the Editor. Saturday Review, 17 July 1943, p. 13. Protests Fast's fictionalized portrait of Paine. Accuses him of violating "an unwritten trust."
217. Dickson, Harold E. "An Authentic Portrait of Thomas Paine." Antiques, 57(1950), 115. History and description of the Jarvis portrait.
218. _____. "The Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine." New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, 34(1950), 5-11. Relates details of the "discovery" of the long-lost portrait.
219. Dodd, William E. "Tom Paine." American Mercury, 21(1930), 477-83. Recounts in a brief and partisan fashion "the story of one of the makers of modern history." Contains fabrications and factual inaccuracies.
220. Dorfman, Joseph. "The Economic Philosophy of Thomas Paine." Political Science Quarterly, 53(1938), 372-86. Good general summary of Paine's economic theories as set forth in the principal works. Concludes that, as a whole, "they present a scheme of things closely resembling that of the Benthamites a generation later."
221. Eastman, Max. "Tom Paine: Crusader for Common Sense." Reader's Digest, March 1944, pp. 78-84. Effusive biographical essay condensed from New Leader.
222. Falk, Robert P. "Thomas Paine: Deist or Quaker?" Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 62(1938), 52-63. Maintains that Paine's essential creed was deism, and that he was not, as Conway claimed, "explicable only by the intensity of his Quakerism." Fully documented.

223. _____. "Thomas Paine and the Attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 63(1939), 302-10. Measures the relationship between Paine and the Quakers during the Revolutionary period and concludes that the Quakers exhibited a determined resistance to the American cause.
224. Fast, Howard. "Who Was Tom Paine?" New Masses, 27 Feb. 1945, pp. 23-24. An abridgment of Fast's introduction to his edition.
225. Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley. "Tom Paine Was an Alien, too." New Masses, 18 Feb. 1941, p. 41. A propaganda piece deploring the treatment of aliens in America. No mention of Paine, except title reference.
226. "Foreign Comment." Literary Digest, 6 Feb. 1937, p. 10. Brief mention of Paine in an article about political refugees living in France.
227. Garrison, Frank W. "Paine and the Physiocrats." Freeman, 7(1923), 205-06. Brief undocumented essay whose thesis is that "all the contentions which formed the body of Paine's belief on economic subjects flowed from the fountain-head of economic thought--the school of the Physiocrats in France."
228. Gibbens, V. E. "Tom Paine and the Idea of Progress." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 66(1942), 191-204. "Paine is shown, when his whole thought is carefully analyzed, to have no important primitivistic concepts."
229. Gillis, J. M. "Tom Paine." Catholic World, 121(1925), 48-58. Originally one of a series of lectures on "Champions of Unbelief," this hostile essay accuses Paine of being a poor sport, a fanatic, of being intolerant, and ignorant of human nature. A ranting diatribe.
230. Gimbel, Richard. "New Political Writings of Thomas Paine." Yale University Library Gazette, 30(1955-1956), 94-107. Reprints a number of letters to show that Paine took an active part in the effort to secure a Republican constitution for Connecticut.
231. _____. "The Resurgence of Thomas Paine." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 69(1959), 97-111. A readable summary of Paine's career which concludes that "succeeding generations have seen the smoke screen of personal abuse . . . gradually disappear."

232. _____. "Thomas Paine Fights for Freedom in Three Worlds: The New, the Old, the Next." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 70(1960), 397-492. The catalogue of the 1959 Yale Library exhibit of selected Paineiana from the collection of Colonel Gimbel.
233. _____. "Thomas Paine an Albany Mason." American Notes & Queries, 3(1964), 24. Notes that no direct evidence exists that Paine was an Albany mason.
234. Gittleman, David. "Thomas Paine: American Patriot and Crusader." Unity, 118(1937), 194-96. Offers effusive praise of Paine in a short biographical account.
235. Goldman, Eric F. "Books That Changed America." Saturday Review, 4 July 1953, pp. 7-8. A paragraph on the effects of Common Sense, plus a portrait.
236. Gosnell, Charles F. "Thomas Paine an Albany Mason?" American Notes & Queries, 2(1963), 22-23. Notes that Albany, New York, Masonic Lodge records show that in 1785 one Thomas Paine was made a member.
237. Hackett, Roger C. "Tom Paine." American Mercury, 61(1945), 506-07. A letter responding to an earlier article by W. E. Woodward.
238. Halliday, E. M. "The Ghost of Tom Paine." New Republic, 15 June 1959, pp. 15-17. "Despite the acclaim accorded in the history books . . . his niche in the hall of fame is not a comfortable one."
239. Hemstreet, Charles. "Literary Landmarks of New York." Critic, 41(1902), 333-40. Illustrated article pertaining to present state of Paine dwelling in New York.
240. Hodgart, Matthew. "Politics and Prose Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Radicals." Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 66(1962), 464-69. Views Burke as the single most powerful influence on Paine.
241. Hogue, Caroline. "The Authorship and Date of 'The American Patriot's Prayer.'" American Literature, 2(1930-1931), 168-72. Disproves the theory that Paine was the author of this poem, which appeared as an addenda to Bell's edition of Common Sense.
242. Holmes, John Haynes. "Thomas Paine: 1737-1937." Unity, 118(1937), 186-89. An admiring biographical account aimed at the general reader. It presents Paine as a "revolutionist par excellence," possessed of exceptional nobility, courage, and generosity.

243. Hooker, Edward Niles. "Wordsworth's Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff." Studies in Philology, 28(1931), 522-31. A close examination of the letter reveals a strong influence of Paine in Wordsworth's theoretical-political, practical-political, and economic interests.
244. Jackman, S. W. "A Young Englishman Reports on the New Nation: Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges, 1791-1793." William and Mary Quarterly, 18(1961), 85-121. The young secretary to the newly appointed minister to the United States writes a letter to his patron which speaks unfavorably of Paine.
245. Jobman, David. "Correspondence." Unity, 119(1937), 217. Noting the imperialistic schemes of Germany, Italy, and Japan, Jobman calls attention to the warning given by Paine in The Crisis.
246. "John Wesley Jarvis and Tom Paine." Magazine of Art, 33(1940), 309-11. Picture of Jarvis sculpture and brief note on his friendship with Paine.
247. Kellogg, Louise Phelps. "Letter of Thomas Paine, 1793." American Historical Review, 29(1924), 501-05. Reprints a letter from Paine to Dr. James O'Fallon, Irish adventurer and brother-in-law to George Rogers Clark, concerning a filibustering expedition to recover Louisiana for France.
248. Kenyon, Cecelia M. "Where Paine Went Wrong." American Political Science Review, 45(1951), 1086-99. Develops thesis that it was Paine, not the American people, who failed to understand politics, and that this failure was the initial cause of his rejection by his fellow Americans.
249. _____. "Republicanism and Radicalism in the American Revolution: An Old-Fashioned Interpretation." William and Mary Quarterly, 19(1962), 153-82. Views Paine as a radical democrat who was conservative in his attitude toward the proper ends of government and the proper political behavior of individual citizens.
250. Kistler, Mark O. "German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine." American Quarterly, 14(1962), 81-91. The German-Americans adopted Paine as a spiritual forebear and contributed significantly to resurrecting his name.
251. Kite, Elizabeth S. "The Revival of Thomas Paine." Commonweal, 14(1931), 93-94. Because Paine was never able to trim his sails according to circumstance, his contributions to the creation of the world in which we live was destructive rather than constructive.

252. "A Knight-Errant of Democracy." Freeman, 7(1923), 318-19.
Admires Paine as one of the "remarkable group of rebels whose successful attack upon the authorized government of their day has won for them the veneration of law-abiding posterity," and laments the fact that the age of reason has not yet dawned.
253. Knudson, Jerry W. "The Rage Around Tom Paine: Newspaper Reactions to His Homecoming in 1802." New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, 53(1969), 34-63. A thorough and documented detailing of the attack made on Paine by the Federalist press at his return to America. Views him as merely a pawn in a purely partisan issue.
254. Landon, Harold W. "Some Letters of Thomas Paine and William Short on the Nootka Sound Crisis." Journal of Modern History, 13(1941), 357-74. Regards the five letters which Paine wrote to Short as historically valuable "not only because they help to fill this gap in his published correspondence but also because the represent an interesting interpretation of the Nootka Sound Controversy."
255. Lasser, Michael L. "Thomas Paine and Robert Treat Paine: A Case of Mistaken Identity." Journal of Rutgers University Library, 25(1962), 24-27. Shows that a song long assumed to have been authored by Paine was actually composed by Robert Treat Paine, Jr.
256. _____. "In Response to The Age of Reason." Bulletin of Bibliography, 25(1967), 41-43. Lists thirty-seven responses to The Age of Reason published before 1800.
257. Leary, Lewis. "The First Published Poem of Thomas Paine of Boston: A Note on the Generation Gap in 1786." New England Quarterly, 43(1970), 130-34. Paine mentioned only incidentally in dealing with Thomas Paine of Boston (Robert Treat Paine, Jr.).
258. Lee, Henry. "Pearl S. Buck--Spiritual Descendant of Tom Paine." Saturday Review, 5 Dec. 1942, pp. 16-18. Details Miss Buck's wartime work for the East and West Association. No mention of Paine except in the title.
259. Leffmann, Henry. "The Real Thomas Paine, Patriot and Publicist. A Philosopher Misunderstood." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 46(1922), 81-99. Although Paine had the highest motive in writing The Age of Reason, that work has been responsible for his being much misunderstood and cruelly abused.

260. Lewis, Joseph. "Omniscient Paine." Scientific Monthly, 75(1952), 135-36. Notes that Paine's inventive mind perhaps even conceived the idea of atomic energy.
261. Lyttle, Charles H. "Thomas Paine's Religion of Humanity." Unity, 118(1937), 192-93. Sets forth the thesis that Paine's evangelical deism is inextricably involved with his crusading humanitarianism. Aimed at general readers.
262. McCloy, Shelby T. "Rationalists and Religion in the Eighteenth Century." South Atlantic Quarterly, 46(1947), 468-82. On the growth of rationalism, this essay devotes several pages to examining The Age of Reason as typical of those works attacking Christian doctrine.
263. McGovern, John. "Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin." National Magazine, 23(1906), 426-30. Praiseful comparison of two great heroes of the Revolution whose birthdates occur in the same month.
264. Matthews, Albert. "Thomas Paine and the Declaration of Independence." Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 43(1910), 241-53. By means of careful documentation, Matthews attempts to prove that Conway's attribution to Paine of part of the drafting of the Declaration is unwarranted and that Jefferson is the sole author of the document.
265. Melcher, Frederic G. "Authors to the Hall of Fame." Publisher's Weekly, 148(1945), 2127. Points to Paine's election to Hall of Fame as indicative of the reconstruction of his reputation.
266. Meng, John J. "Thomas Paine, French Propagandist in the United States." Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, 57(1946), 1-21. An examination of Gerard's diplomatic correspondence reveals Paine as the author of four unsigned essays on the nature of constitutional government.
267. Messerole, Harrison T. "W. T. Sherwin: A Little-Known Paine Biographer." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 49(1955), 268-72. Offers full details surrounding the publication of this little-known biographer's work on Paine.
268. Miller, Perry. "Thomas Paine, Rationalist." Nation, 162(1946), 228-32. Specifies Paine's usage of the language of an eighteenth-century rationalist as accountable for the decline of his popularity in the nineteenth century.

269. Moses, Ernest C. "Was Thomas Paine Infidel at Heart." Americana, 7 July 1912, pp. 641-50. Admires Paine's patriotic writings but considers the religious works as destructive and best forgotten.
270. Muzzey, David S. "Thomas Paine and American Independence." American Review [Bloomington, Ill.], 4(1926), 278-88.
Considers Paine's contributions to American Independence under three heads: (1) preparation of the American mind for independence; (2) encouragement to the American army and people in winning independence; (3) justification of American independence through its beneficent influence upon the world at large.
271. Nash, J. V. "An Undamaged Soul: Thomas Paine." Open Court, 38(1924), 577-94; 657-74. Developing a stoning-the-prophet thesis, this lengthy essay militantly defends Paine against Congress, preachers, politicians, and Car Van Doren. Mostly biographical, it is adulatory, uncritical, and undocumented.
272. "The Neglect of Tom Paine." American Mercury, 30(1933), 120.
An ex-Baptist marvels at the neglect of Paine.
273. Neumann, Henry. Letter to the Editor. New Republic, 26 May 1952, pp. 2, 4. Letter commenting on President Truman's use of a Paine quotation in a Presidential address.
274. Nicholson, Marjorie. "Thomas Paine, Edward Nares, and Mrs. Piozzi's Marginalia." Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 10 (1936), pp. 103-33. A close examination of Reverend Nares' refutation of "the plurality of worlds" thesis as developed by Paine in The Age of Reason. Very good discussion of the influence of science on Paine. Fully documented.
275. "Paine Restored." New Yorker, 14 July 1945, pp. 16-17.
Thurberesque account of ceremonies at New Rochelle restoring Paine's citizenship rights.
276. Palmer, R. R. "Tom Paine: Victim of the Rights of Man." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 66(1942), 161-75. A general biographical essay tending to admire its subject in a rather uncritical fashion.
277. Paradyne, Henry. "A Misunderstood Patriot." Harper's Weekly, 5 June 1909, p. 15. Brief biographical account favoring a more tolerant attitude toward Paine's religious views.
278. Paris, Leonard. "More Glorious the Triumph." Senior Scholastic, 27 Sept. 1956, p. 14. A short essay emphasizing the patriotic writings.

279. Payne, Will. "Our First Best-Seller." Saturday Evening Post, 18 Sept. 1926, pp. 67-72. A magazine biography which concludes that Paine was "a great radical agitator, with the gift of stirring men's minds and emotions, but a sad blunderer in practical affairs."
280. Pellett, Kent. "He Dreamed America." Common Ground, 3(1942), 97-98. A brief, admiring biographical essay.
281. Penniman, Howard. "Thomas Paine--Democrat." American Political Science Review, 37(1943), 244-62. A re-examination of Paine's political doctrines with respect to the following items: (1) popular sovereignty, (2) majority rule, (3) equality, (4) popular consultation, (5) democracy and deism.
282. Persinger, Clark Edmund. "The Political Philosophy of Thomas Paine." The University of Nebraska Graduate Bulletin, 7th Series (July 1901), pp. 54-74. Establishes five general principles of Revolutionary thought and employs them as a standard by which to measure Paine's philosophy. They include the following: (1) the nature and origin of rights; (2) origin of the state; (3) objects or purpose of the state; (4) location of sovereignty; (5) rights of the individual under the state. This fully documented study presents Paine's political ideas by topical arrangement and without much comment or criticism.
283. Pollack, Jack H. "Rainbow Over the World." Collier's, 6 July 1946, pp. 14-15. Urges the United Nations to adopt Paine's proposed rainbow flag as its official emblem.
284. "The Price is Not too Great." Collier's, 27 Jan. 1951, p. 78. An editorial feature which calls attention to Crisis No. 1 as American involvement in Korea deepens.
285. Purdy, Strother B. "A Note on the Burke-Paine Controversy." American Literature, 39(1967-1968), 373-75. Attacks Conway's assertion that Paine quoted Burke fairly and nowhere misrepresented him.
286. Rea, Robert R. "William Henry Graves: Gentle man Scholar." Alabama Historical Quarterly, 17(1955), 20-27. Summary of life and career of Alabama financier who at age eighty-four published Junius Finally Discovered, which claimed Paine as author of the Junius letters.
287. Reese, Curtis W. "Thomas Paine." Unity, 112(1934), 204. Very short essay offering summary of Paine's life and standard eulogistic remarks of a Paine fan.

288. _____. "Thomas Paine: A Tribute." Unity, 118(1937), 193-94. Largely a lament that this country failed "to do sufficient honor to the man who did as much as the best to make America the 'home of the free.'"
289. "A Rehabilitation of Thomas Paine." Current Literature, 39(1905), 521-22. Notes acceptance of bust by Independence Hall as indicative of growing religious tolerance and increasing appreciation of Paine.
290. "Related Things: Thomas Paine." Public, 21(1918), pp. 148-49. In defending Paine the author attacks Roosevelt, religious bigotry, proponents of the war, and opponents of the singletax.
291. Roberts, James A. "Thomas Paine." New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal, 1(1920), 73-86. A sympathetic appraisal which follows lead of Conway in stressing the Quaker influence. Explains hostility toward Paine as due to Federalist faction and a fearful clergy.
292. Roper, Ralph C. "Citizen of the World." Public, 22(1919), 259-60. Heavily tinged with sentiment of Progressivism, this article stresses Paine's many reform proposals and implies that he would have supported the position of the Wilson administration.
293. _____. "Thomas Paine First to Urge League of Nations." Public, 22(1919), 488-89. Points out Rights of Man as advocating a European Congress which would arbitrate disputes between nations. The pro-Wilson article drums up support for American membership in League.
294. _____. "Thomas Paine--Peace Maker." Unity, 117(1936), 6-10. A compendium of Paine's suggestions for the prevention of war and retention of world peace. Dated because of frequent allusions to world situation in 1936.
295. _____. "Comments and Criticism." Scientific Monthly, 58(1944), 403. Claims Paine was a maker of ship stays, not corset stays.
296. _____. "Thomas Paine: Scientist-Religionist." Scientific Monthly, 58(1944), 101-11. Sees Paine's scientific activities as inextricably bound up with his religious opinions.
297. "Say Not That Thousands are Gone." New Republic, 25 Dec. 1950, pp. 13-14. Reprints section from Crisis to boost morale following a heavy defeat in Korea.

298. Schmulowitz, Nat. "Thou Shalt Not Read the Rights of Man." United States Law Review, 73(1939), 271-86. Concerned with the state of civil liberties in 1939, the author uses the 1792 trial of Paine as an example of infringement upon freedom of the press.
299. Seitz, Don C. "Thomas Paine, Bridge Builder." Virginia Quarterly Review, 3(1927), 571-84. Devoted in part to Paine as a literal bridgebuilder, the essay also discusses him as a builder of bridges which bring men's minds together.
300. Seldes, Gilbert. "The Old Disbeliever." New Republic, 21 Sept. 1927, pp. 124-25. The revivalism which swept the country after Paine's death fixed his reputation as the arch-enemy of evangelizing churches and, at the same time, freethinkers began to champion him against organized religion.
301. "Shrines for the Tourist-Collector." Hobbies, Oct. 1950, pp. 36-37. A short eulogistic essay reprinted from Mentor.
302. Sizer, Theodore. "Tom Paine's Portrait." Yale University Library Gazette, 30(1955), 139-42. Relates story of discovery of Trumbell's miniature portrait of Paine which was originally painted for Jefferson but lost after 1828.
303. Smith, Frank. "New Light on Thomas Paine's First Year in America, 1775." American Literature, 1(1929-1930), 347-71. On the basis of internal and external evidence, Smith establishes Paine as the author of twenty-seven pieces in the year 1775 and offers new evidence concerning his date of arrival in America and tenure with the Pennsylvania Magazine.
304. _____. "The Authorship of 'An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex.'" American Literature, 2(1930-1931), 277-80. Offers conclusive proof that Paine did not write the essay, that, except as editor of the magazine, he had no hand in the matter at all, and that his reputation as the first champion of women's rights in America is based on a false attribution.
305. _____. "The Date of Thomas Paine's First Arrival in America." American Literature, 3(1931-1932), 317-18. New Evidence proves Conway correct in asserting that Paine arrived on November 30, 1774.
306. Solemnick, Israel. "Thomas Paine Who 'Changed Men's Minds.'" Scholastic, 30 Jan. 1937, pp. 8-9, 21. A popular retelling of 'the fascinating story of Thomas Paine's role as a crusader for liberty' for high school students.

307. Stephens, Genevieve K. "Tom Paine." Poet Lore, 53(1947), p. 83. A poem.
308. Stoehr, Taylor. "Tone and Voice." College English, 30(1968-1969), 150-161. Uses Common Sense to illustrate a range of tone-voice problems.
309. Suits, Bernard. "Billy Budd and Historical Evidence: A Rejoinder." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 18(1963-1964), 288-91. Finds Browne (See No. 200) guilty of "circularity" of method and of begging the question. Finds his interpretation implausible.
310. Tarr, Harry A. "Builders of American Democracy." Senior Scholastic, 28 Sept. 1940, pp. 15-16.
311. "They Fought for Freedom." Senior Scholastic, 4 Oct. 1943, p. 16. A page of cartoons calling forth Paine's patriotic efforts. Labels him "the spark plug of the Revolution."
312. "Thomas Paine." Outlook, 94(1910), 334-35. Explains why a liberal paper cannot celebrate the Paine centenary. Primary objection rests with The Age of Reason. Patronizing.
313. "Thomas Paine." Outlook, 94(1910), 608. A follow-up of the preceding article, this continues the attack on The Age of Reason and finally succeeds in showing the author to be not so familiar as claimed with Paine's work.
314. "Thomas Paine's Birthday Celebration." Hobbies, May 1950, p. 34. Description of elaborate ceremonies held in New Rochelle to commemorate Paine's 213th birthday.
315. Thompson, George L. "Correspondence." Unity, 119(1937), 18. Regrets that Ingersoll's tribute not included in recent issue devoted to Paine.
316. "To Do Good Is My Religion." Senior Scholastic, 10 Jan. 1969, p. 15. One-page article recounting Paine's achievements.
317. "Tom Paine, Bridgebuilder." Nation, 144(1937), 118. The bridge referred to in this brief editorial is "the span between two forms of society" which Paine's famous pamphlets helped to forge.
318. "Tom Paine, Patriot and Heretic." Christian Century, 54(1937), 102. Commemorating the 200th anniversary of his birth, this editorial concludes that Paine was "ardently humanitarian" and has been misrepresented as a legendary monster of infidelity.

319. "Two Statues." America, 94(1955-1956), 32. A swipe is taken at Paine in a notice of Providence, Rhode Island's refusal to accept a statue.
320. Van Der Weyde, William M. "Thomas Paine's Last Days in New York." Americana, 5(1910), 904-10. Though stressing the neglect of Paine by former friends, the author summarizes in a fairly objective manner Paine's last years in America.
321. "Vincit Veritas." "Influence of Paine on American Thought." American Catholic Quarterly Review, 39(1914), 347-55. Violently attacks Paine as "the English infidel writer." Most of the article is taken up by reprinting the Bishop Fenwick letter.
322. Ward, Edith F. "Thomas Paine." Negro History Bulletin, 6(1943), 80, 93-94. This brief and admiring essay singles out for special emphasis Paine's opposition to slavery.
323. Wecter, Dixon. "Thomas Paine and the Franklins." American Literature, 12(1940-1941), 306-17. The correspondence between Paine and Franklin has substantial interest because of the fundamental difference in their attitude as revolutionaries. Reprints three newly discovered letters and reviews other known correspondence. Fully documented.
324. ———. "Hero in Reverse." Virginia Quarterly Review, 18(1942), 243-59. Traces the curve of Paine's reputation to show the operation of the anti-hero rationale. Intriguing but suffers from lack of information concerning sources used.
325. West, E. G. "Tom Paine's Voucher Scheme for Public Education." Southern Economic Journal, 33(1966-1967), 378-82. An economist examines Paine's theory for financing public education as set forth in Rights of Man.
326. Wharton, Anne Hollingsworth. "Philadelphia in Literature." Critic, 47(1905), 224-31. Reproduces the Jarvis portrait but only mentions Paine.
327. Wilson, Rufus Rockwell. "Foreign Authors in America." Bookman, 12(1901), 498-500. Brief but sympathetic account of Paine's last years in America. Emphasizes The Age of Reason as a misquoted and misunderstood book.
328. Woodward, W. E. "Tom Paine." American Mercury, 61(1945), 72-79. An admiring essay condensed from material in his biography of Paine.

329. "The World and the Theatre." Theatre Arts, 25(1941), 84-85.
A brief report on Hanns Johst's play Thomas Paine, which the writer regards as a Nazi propaganda piece.
330. Wyatt, Edith Franklin. "Our First Internationalist." New Republic, 48(1926), 90-92. With a slant toward internationalism, the author terms Paine an international Englishman, his writings international in their sources and appeal. Undocumented.
331. Zacharias, Donald W. "Tom Paine: Eloquent Defender of Louis XVI." Central States Speech Journal, 13(1962), 183-88.
This analysis of Paine's rhetoric concentrates on the dilemma of a propagandist for the French Revolution trapped in a maze of political and moral distractions.
332. Zunder, Theodore A. "Notes on the Friendship of Joel Barlow and Tom Paine." American Book Collector, 6(1935), 96-99.
Examines all the extant written communication between Paine and Barlow and concludes that the two "thought highly of each other's ability."

Book Reviews

The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine. (Foner ed., see No. 5)

333. Barck, O. T., Jr. New York History, 27(1946), 376-78.
334. Brown, Ralph Adams. Social Studies, 37(1946), 234-35. Views the edition as coming at an advantageous time and terms it "a distinctive addition to the literature of American history."
335. Clark, Harry Hayden. Political Science Quarterly, 61(1945), 455-56. "Dr. Foner's greatest contribution lies in his printing some 225 'pieces' which 'have never appeared in any previous collection.'"
336. Jones, Howard Mumford. New England Quarterly, 19(1946), 256-58.
"An edition of great usefulness for the general reader and for everybody but the special student." Faults Foner for lack of specificity as to origin of what he prints, for annotation occasionally but not systematically, and for lack of objectivity.
337. Jorgenson, Chester E. Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 33(1946), 337-39. "... one is grateful for a collection in which Thomas Paine is more amply than ever before self-revealed as a master libertarian."

338. Nevins, Allan. "Thomas Paine, World Citizen." New York Times Book Review, 23 Dec. 1945, pp. 1, 12. "The introduction and notes . . . are as valuable as his new materials, avoiding rash and tendentious generalizations."
339. Powell, J. H. Pennsylvania Magazine, 70(1946), 328-31.
- Thomas Paine: Representative Selections. (Ed. Clark, see No. 26)
340. Blau, Joseph L. Journal of Philosophy, 41(1944), 420. Succinctly summarizes the Introduction, which he regards as "clear and balanced."
341. Davidson, Philip. American Historical Review, 50(1944), 143-44. Maintains that Clark's introduction to this selection of Paine's writing is "the best analysis in print of Paine's ideas and their sources."
342. Jones, Howard Mumford. Modern Language Notes, 60(1945), 283. "... a book useful for giving us a good sense of Paine's interests and a very real sense of the intellectual climate in which he lived."
343. Merriam, Charles E. American Political Science Review, 38(1944), 793-95. Concludes that the volume constitutes a "significant addition to our knowledge of Paine . . . from the point of view of political theory."
344. Schneider, Herbert W. American Literature, 16(1944-1945), 247-48. "The work is a model of scholarship in a scholarly series and will no doubt remain for many years the most useful handbook for a critical study of Paine's thought and style."
- Six New Letters of Thomas Paine. (Clark, see No. 23)
345. Howard, Leon. Modern Language Notes, 55(1940), 400-01. Sees term "conservative" as meaningless when talking of institutions while they were still untried innovations.
346. Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. New England Quarterly, 13(1940), 377-78. While conceding that much of Clark's argument is correct, the reviewer sees a distinct difference between temperamental conservatism and political conservatism and agrees with Bradford that Paine was temperamentally a rebel.
347. Smith, Frank. American Literature, 11(1940), 306-07. Clark "might have made a stronger case for Paine's 'conservatism' by examining in more detail Paine's activities in 1785-1786, particularly his newspaper letters, where he talks like a Federalist against paper money. . . ."

The Selected Work of Tom Paine. (Fast, see No. 27)

- 348. Book Week, 18 Feb. 1945, p. 1.
- 349. Brown, Ralph Adams. Social Studies, 36(1945), 327. "Mr. Fast is not an objective historian; his appraisal of the Federalists is neither sound nor well reasoned."
- 350. Christian Science Monitor, 2 March 1945, p. 14.
- 351. Coleman, McAlister. Nation, 160(1945), 340. "Mr. Fast devotes a few pages to setting his well-chosen selections in the framework of the career of their liberty-intoxicated author and then lets Paine have his way with us."
- 352. Current History, 8(1945), 443.
- 353. Nevins, Allan. "Thomas Paine, World Citizen." New York Times Book Review, 23 Dec. 1945, pp. 1, 12. "Mr. Fast . . . offers a useful selection from his best-known works. His introduction emphasizes, and indeed overemphasizes, Paine's devotion to change."

Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence. (Lewis, see No. 133)

- 354. Boyd, Julian P. "An Amazing Argument." New York Times Book Review, 6 Apr. 1947, p. 22. "His argument, laboring old materials, is an amazing agglomeration of hypothesis, inference, garbled quotations, non sequiturs and generalizations that include everything in their sweep."
- 355. Challenger, Richard D. William and Mary Quarterly, 4(1947), 379-82. "The entire book rests solely upon a flimsy structure of allegations, half-truths and surmises which are either fantasies, misconceptions or downright falsehoods."
- 356. Morison, Samuel E. American Historical Review, 52(1947), 799. "Mr. Lewis's arguments as to Paine's authorship hardly need refutation. The case is largely based on the author's inspiration that Paine must have done it, together with depreciation of Jefferson as a man incapable of drafting so noble a document."
- 357. Springfield Republican, 21 Sept. 1947, p. 8A.
- 358. Wilson, Francis G. American Political Science Review, 41(1947), 602-03. "Professors should . . . show some modesty when they evaluate the work of those outside the ranks of professional scholars. Joseph Lewis . . . makes this difficult."

Thomas Paine. (Gould, see No. 72)

359. Strachey, J. St. Loe. "Tom Paine, Pre-Discoverer of American Unionism." New York Times Book Review, 28 June 1925, sec. 3, p. 7, col. 1. While the reviewer summarizes Paine's principal writings in a sympathetic and admiring fashion, he gives only a mention to Gould's book.

Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy. (Best, see No. 69)

360. Beach, Stewart. "Apostles of Liberty." Independent, 118(1927), 640. "Though the book is of great interest to the student of American history, it has certain broad deficiencies," Beach writes. "Miss Best, eager to drag Paine's name from the mud which has always obscured it, is occasionally too much the advocate to reach a reasoned estimate of the man as well as of his enemies."
361. "Biography." Outlook, 146(1927), 323. "[Paine] comes to his own in this brisk and informing volume. If written too much in the tone of vindication and defense, it is nevertheless a fine contribution to our knowledge of the man."
362. Edgett, E. F. Boston Transcript, 28 May 1927, p. 3. "...traverses the same ground [as Conway], but more briefly, not so clearly, and occasionally somewhat too defensively or apologetically. But when she quotes Paine, or others, she becomes especially interesting."
363. Gorman, Herbert S. "Thomas Paine was not a 'Filthy Little Atheist.'" New York Times Book Review, 29 May 1927, sec. 3, p. 6, col. 4. Calls the book an analysis that is both a biography and a defense. The reader will see Paine, "perhaps for the first time, through eyes that are both impartial and kindly." Complimentary.
364. Greene, Evarts B. American Historical Review, 34(1928), 135-36. "It is fundamentally not a book for the historical specialist," but . . . "on the whole it is a book which deserves serious consideration for collateral reading by undergraduates, and is good for reading on the subway."
365. J. M. G. Catholic World, 126(1927), 415-17. Though "eminently readable" the book is a "partisan pamphlet" rather than "an unbiased historical record." Much of the review is given over to attacking Paine's religious convictions. Concludes that Best is "unequipped to determine the merits and demerits of Paine's attack on the Bible, and on the Christian religion. So she contents herself with the attempt to make the impression that Paine has been wholly wronged."

366. Martens, Frederick H. Commonweal, 6(1927), 535-36. "The skill with which she has woven strands . . . into a coherent, animated and brightly colored life-pattern is admirable, and in the process she has achieved an intimate and sympathetic portrait as well as one, in the main, trustworthy and acceptable."
367. Potamkin, Harry Alan. "Tom Paine, Martyr." Forum, 78(1927), 799. Judges the author's task to be an attempt to resurrect the public man from the entanglements of unjustified accusations. "She is pugnacious and vigilant in his defense and writes with her sleeves rolled up."
368. Snider, Charles Lee. "Major Prophet of Democracy." New York Herald Tribune Books, 12 June 1927, p. 5. "Miss Best has written the ideal Paine biography. . . . It is not too long for the average reader . . . and it is far more interesting than the average novel . . . even morons and movie fans can understand it."
369. Woodward, W. E. "That 'Filthy Little Atheist.'" Nation, 125(1927), 65. "Admirable life of Paine, does much to put him back in his proper historical setting, and to show what manner of man he was. . . . Her fault--if it be a fault--is in trying to tell it all at once, like a fast talker."

Tom Paine--Liberty Bell. (Creel, see No. 71)

370. Bolwell, Robert W. American Literature, 5(1933-1934), 284-85. "Unimpeded by any show of scholarly apparatus, the narrative-argument for Paine's greatness moves straight to its end with something of the swinging stride of Paine's own pamphlets. Mr. Creel, an able propagandist, . . . has expended his talents in propagandizing Paine."
371. "Tom Paine, Pioneer in the Cause of Freedom." New York Times Book Review, 3 April 1932, p. 10. "His style, his feeling, his use of words, his point of view throughout, are all that of the ardent defender sincerely and profoundly convinced of the justice of his cause."
372. Review of Reviews, April 1932, p. 8. "[Paine's] magnificent, if unappreciated, career amply deserves this laudatory study."

Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind. (Pearson, see No. 74)

373. B. L. C. Catholic World, 145(1937), 379-80. Attacks the person of Paine, calling his works diatribes, "brandy-inspired documents," . . . "unscholarly, journalistic tracts." Does not review Pearson's book.

374. Brinton, Crane. "Paine on a Pedestal." Saturday Review, 6 Feb. 1937, p. 7. "It is a lively, clear, and readable [work]. It puts Paine on a pedestal, but it makes no attempt to hide the otherworldly foundations of the pedestal."
375. Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, May 1937, p. 214.
376. Krutch, Joseph Wood. "A Believing Thomas." Nation, 144(1937), 157-58. "Though hardly more than a piece of solid journalism for the occasion of the bicentenary, it is, nevertheless, pleasantly readable and informative . . . does not pretend to present any new facts or anything startlingly new in the way of interpretation."
377. "Mankind's Friend." Time, 8 Feb. 1937, pp. 83-84. "Pearson gives more room than his predecessors to the part played by Paine's personal makeup in turning him against Congress, his one-time heroes Washington, Burke, Robespierre, and Napoleon."
378. Preston, John Hyde. New Republic, 91(1937), 258-59. The book can "only serve to befog in the eyes of most readers the deep-lying drives" in Paine. Says it has no idea behind it, no interpretative sense, and shows no real understanding of the times and circumstances in which Paine lived.
379. Smith, Frank. American Literature, 9(1937-1938), 259-61. "Though Mr. Pearson has been cavalier with his materials, he has succeeded in compressing into two or three hours' reading the most dramatic episodes in Paine's life and the more memorable passages from his principal pamphlets." While satisfactory for the general reader, "for the student this book obscures old questions and leads to no fresh horizons."
380. Van Doren, Carl. Books, 31 Jan. 1937, p. 5.
381. Winwar, Frances. "Liberty's Champion, Tom Paine." New York Times Book Review, 7 Feb. 1937, pp. 7, 26. "It is a pity that in his depiction of Tom Paine he dwelt, in spite of the prefatory promise, more on the accomplishments of the Friend of Mankind than on those traits which in a book bring a character to life."
- Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal. (Berthold, see No. 68)
382. Lyttle, Charles. Church History, 8(1939), 103-05. Concludes that Paine's memory "should not be left to the mercies of inept and partisan eulogy."

383. Smith, Frank. American Literature, 10(1938-1939), 504-05. "The biography is hopelessly mired by a thousand and one of the most elementary sub-freshman errors in punctuation, spelling, wording, proofreading, and sentence structure. Mr. Berthold's only merit lies in his enthusiasm and good intentions."

384. Woodson, C. G. Journal of Negro History, 23(1938), 487-89. A brief essay praising Paine and his writings, especially those dealing with the issue of slavery. Does not, however, review Berthold's book.

Tom Paine: America's Godfather. (Woodward, see No. 77)

385. "Apologia Pro Tom Paine." Newsweek, 25 June 1945, pp. 106, 108.
". . . what we have here is nothing but debunking in reverse."

386. Booklist, 41(1945), 339.

387. Brandt, J. A. Book Week, 1 July 1945, p. 3.

388. Clark, Harry Hayden. Political Science Quarterly, 61(1945), 455-56. "Woodward's biography . . . is essentially that of an amateur popularizer whose very sketchy bibliography would suggest that he is imperfectly acquainted with what scholars have already done to illuminate Paine and the patterns of thought of his era."

389. Horner, Durbin L. "America's Uncompromising Revolutionist." Saturday Review, 7 July 1945, p. 12. ". . . a violent book . . . you get to know very little of the man himself."

390. Jackson, S. L. Springfield Republican, 24 June 1945, p. 4d.

391. Morton, Charles W. Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1945, p. 138.
". . . more of a slapdash history of the American and French Revolutions, punctuated by copious quotations from the writings of Tom Paine, than a biography. It shows signs of hasty editing; it abounds in enthusiastic assertion; of Paine himself it reveals little that could not be gleaned from his own words."

392. New Republic, 113(1945), 142. ". . . it is hard to see what if anything, Woodward has added to our knowledge of his subject."

393. New Yorker, 30 June 1945, p. 90. "Lively, well-documented, and extremely readable biography."

394. Rosenberger, Coleman. Nation, 160(1945), 723-24. "... has shown courage in tackling a subject so recently and so thoroughly preempted by a popular novel."
 395. Wakefield, George W. Library Journal, 70(1945), 586. "An easy, colloquial style, careless scholarship and an unfailing vitality Though uncritical and eulogistic . . . it is entertaining to a high degree."
 396. "Was Tom Paine the Real Author of the 'Declaration'?" Christian Science Monitor Weekly Magazine Section, 14 July 1945, p. 10. "To rehabilitate that name is what the book . . . sets out to do."
 397. Weekly Book Review, 24 June 1945, p. 1.
 398. Wisconsin Library Bulletin, 41(1945), 101.
- Thomas Paine: Liberator. (Smith, see No. 76)
399. American Historical Review, 44(1938-1939), 857-59. "... by far the best account of Paine since Conway's study. . . it displays an intimate knowledge of the exciting surroundings in which Paine lived and worked."
 400. Booklist, 35(1938), 64. "A sympathetic biography of the crusader for freedom and liberty."
 401. Books, 13 Nov. 1938, p. 4.
 402. Brickell, Herschel. "Honor to Tom Paine." New York Times Book Review, 2 Oct. 1938, p. 19. "A welcome step in the rehabilitation of a tarnished reputation."
 403. Brinton, Crane. "Pamphleteer of the Revolution." Saturday Review, 7 Jan. 1939, p. 16. Though "it is a well-proportioned life, clear, interesting, its narrative flow not too much broken by long analyses of Paine's writings," the book's chief fault is its partisan nature.
 404. Christian Science Monitor, 1 Oct. 1938, p. 18.
 405. Forum, 100(1938), iv. "Mr. Smith pays tribute in a biography that is as strong and swift in its movements as one of Paine's own pamphlets."
 406. New Republic, 96(1938), 251. "A prodigious amount of revolutionary history, English and French as well as American, is shoehorned into this life of a great public man--who had only one face--one set of beliefs, and is still paying for it. Has to be read."

407. New Yorker, 24 Sept. 1938, p. 95.
408. Palmer, R. R. "Life of Thomas Paine." Nation, 147(1938), 458-60. "An excellent guide to the events of Paine's career." Faults Smith for offering too simplistic a view of the American Revolution and for identifying too completely with Paine.
409. Spiller, Robert E. American Literature, 11(1939-1940), 104-05. "Should be classed as historical criticism . . . has all the qualities of sound scholarship excepting objectivity, it is a careful and clear though biased appraisal, and it tells a fascinating story as well."
410. Springfield Republican, 18 Sept. 1938, p. 7.
- Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine. (Aldridge, see No. 67)
411. Amacher, Richard E. American Quarterly, 12(Spring, 1960), 106-07. "This is, on the whole, a highly factual and very reliable critical biography. If there is any slight fault in this book, it is the rather mechanical style in which the tightly-packed sentences follow one another with little variation in tempo or tone."
412. Booklist, 15 Sept. 1959, p. 49.
413. Bookmark, Oct. 1959. p. 8.
414. Bruun, Geoffrey. "The Essence of Tom Paine." New York Herald Tribune Book Review, 16 Aug. 1959, p. 8. "The chief value of this latest biography lies in its clear and consistent analysis of Paine's thinking."
415. Chicago Sunday Tribune, 13 Aug. 1959, p. 2.
416. Christian Science Monitor, 13 Aug. 1959, p. 5.
417. Cranston, Maurice. Listener, 65(1960), 791.
418. Earley, George E. Library Journal, 84(1959), 2635. "A definitive and scholarly work which will appeal to the serious reader."
419. Fast, Howard. "The Mind That Moved Three Nations." Saturday Review, 15 Aug, 1959, p. 34. "Mr. Aldridge has come closer to assessing the role and importance of Paine than any other biographer."

420. Graubard, Stephen R. New England Quarterly, 33(1960), 124-26. ". . . it cannot be deemed a contribution to literature. This is not simply a criticism of a style which is archaic, a prose which is labored and redundant, but of a total failure to conceive the work as a unity, and to dwell on those aspects of Paine's life which offer some explanation of a recognizable theme."
421. Jorgenson, C. E. American Literature, 32(1960-1961), 210-12. "Compact and fluent, Man of Reason succeeds in its purpose--to fill lacunae, especially with data found in French sources. . . . Excellent in bibliographical summaries of Paine's major works in terms of their printing, editions, and distributions."
422. Morris, Richard B. "Propagandist Extraordinary." New York Times Book Review, 15 Nov. 1959, p. 26. "A badly needed reappraisal of Paine's career, judicious in temper, balanced and well-re-researched. . . . Should quickly win recognition as the standard life of the propagandist extraordinary of the American Revolution."
423. New Yorker, 12 Sept. 1959, p. 200. "This sober book attempts to arrive at a just estimate of Paine--no easy job."
- Citizen Tom Paine. (Fast, see No. 92)
424. Bookweek, 9 May 1943, p. 2.
425. Booklist, 39(1943), 368.
426. Bookmark, March 1943, p. 18.
427. Christian Science Monitor, 3 May 1943, p. 18.
428. Cross, Jesse Edward. Library Journal, 68(1943), 327. "Antagonisms will be aroused by some strictures on great figures, but it could not be otherwise--being Paine. Recommended."
429. Fadiman, Clifton. New Yorker. 1 May 1943, pp. 73-74. "The first sections . . . are unskillful and obscure, but the the author hits his stride when 1775 is reached, and from that point the story runs on a consistently high level."
430. Mayberry, George. "Journeyman of Revolution." New Republic, 108(1943), 646. "A masterful drawing done in a prose as sharp and clean and as loving of its medium as the pen of a Daumier or an Ingres."

431. Nevins, Allan. "Man of Reason with a Mission." Saturday Review, 1 May 1943, p. 8. "The best element in Mr. Fast's book is the portrait of Paine, a portrait vigorous, consistent, and admiring."
432. Rice, Elmer. "Tom Paine, Prophet of Liberty." New York Times Book Review, 25 April 1943, pp. 1, 18. "A timely and readable reincarnation of a forgotten man."
433. Trilling, Diana. Nation, 156(1943), 676. "Mr. Fast is the only contemporary novelist I know who works on the premise that even people who were born 200 years ago were really people."
434. Weekly Book Review, 25 April 1943, p. 3.
435. Weeks, Edward. Atlantic Monthly, July 1943, pp. 121-22. "After reading this book I want to read more Tom Paine."
436. Wisconsin Library Bulletin, 39(1943), 109.

New York Times

437. "Monument-Shaft Menaced by New Rochelle St. Improvement." 15 July 1900, p. 5, col. 2. Description of monument.
438. Boland, Henry Weir. Letter to the Editor. 8 June 1914, p. 6, col. 6. Paine continues to be center of great interest, writer notes.
439. Editorial. 24 Jan. 1917, p. 8, cols. 4-5. Editorializing on monarchical governments, the writer notes that much in Paine's essays is relevant to the present day. Terms him a "sincere patriot and more than fairly able publicist and philosopher."
440. Editorial. 9 June 1918, sec. 6, p. 270, col. 2. Paine's teachings and writings find new application on Liberty Loan posters and government literature boosting war effort.
441. "Candidacy for Hall of Fame." 9 May 1920, sec. 7, p. 2, col. 1. Paine and M. D. Conway among eighty-nine candidates nominated for membership.
442. "Thomas Paine Honored." 29 Jan. 1921, p. 8, col. 2. Account of a memorial dinner given by Paine historical Association. Eulogy delivered by Oscar Strauss, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

443. Reisner, Christine F. "Roosevelt and Religion." 30 Oct. 1921, sec. 7, p. 49, col. 7. Primarily a long list of evidences of Roosevelt's Christian nature. "In calling Paine 'that dirty little atheist,' he put into it all the contempt he felt for an atheist."
444. Teller, Alfred H. "Defender for Tom Paine." 13 Nov. 1921, sec. 7, p. 8, col. 2. Censures Roosevelt for defaming Paine.
445. "Remember Thomas Paine." 30 Jan. 1923, p. 5, col. 5. Account of memorial dinner by Paine Historical Association commemorating the 186th anniversary of his birth. Carl Van Doren spoke on Paine's contribution to American literature.
446. "To Mark Last Home of Thomas Paine." 18 Feb. 1923, sec. 2, p. 1, col. 4. Greenwich Village Historical Society plans to place a memorial tablet on the house at 59 Grove St. occupying the site of earlier dwelling in which Paine died.
447. Elliott, James B. Letter to the Editor. 2 Apr. 1923, p. 16, col. 7. Request for information on location of Jarvis residence during months Paine resided with him.
448. Colby, Eldridge. "Homes of Great Men." 8 Apr. 1923, sec. 2, p. 6, col. 7. Very brief mention of the Hardy letters.
449. "To Unveil Tablet to Thomas Paine." 13 May 1923, sec. 2, p. 7, col. 4. Description of bronze tablet to be placed at site of Paine's death by Greenwich Village Historical Association.
450. "Will Unveil Tablet to Thomas Paine." 3 June 1923, sec. 2, p. 2, col. 6. Announcement of coming ceremonies.
451. "Village Unveils Tablet to Paine." 10 June 1923, sec. 1, pt. 2, p. 8, col. 3. Substantial account of ceremonies.
452. "Paine As a World Teacher." 22 Feb. 1925, sec. 7, p. 10, col. 7. Responding to a Dr. Eliot's list of leading educators, the writer classifies Paine as "the only great teacher the world has ever known whose teachings have been entirely practical and strictly constructive in nature."
453. Elliott, James B. "Changing View of Paine." 7 June 1925, sec. 2, p. 4, col. 7. Notes with gratification the changes in public opinion that have taken place in the city and state of New York since 1809.

454. Young, James C. "Edison Speaks for Tom Paine." 7 June 1925, sec. 9, p. 1, col. 3. Thomas A. Edison discourses at length to a reporter on subject of Paine, whom he greatly admired.
455. Fulton, Marian A. "The Thomas Paine Home." 14 June 1925, sec. 9, p. 14, col. 5. Corrects mistakes made in a previous article concerning the Paine home.
456. Burch, Guy Irving. 22 Nov. 1925, sec. 8, p. 14, col. 1. Lists thirty-seven reasons why Paine should be in Hall of Fame.
457. Grove, E. W. Letter to the Editor. 25 July 1926, sec. 8, p. 16, col. 1. Deplores recent Fourth of July speeches which made no mention of Paine.
458. Caretti, M. M. Letter to the Editor. 28 Jan. 1928, p. 14, col. 8. Very brief notice of Paine's birthday.
459. "\$1700 for Paine Work." 17 May 1928, p. 27, col. 5. Account of auction sale of Paine letter to James Monroe.
460. "Old Home of Thomas Paine Faces Demolition." 28 Feb. 1930, p. 15, col. 1. A picture of the old wooden structure in Greenwich Village and short account of its pending demolition.
461. "Thomas Paine's Old House." 9 Mar. 1930, sec. 10, p. 10, col. 1. Notes that "the old Greenwich Village home of Thomas Paine, the rationalist, is to be demolished to make way for a modern building." Short summary of Paine's career. Portrait.
462. Roper, R. C. Letter to the Editor. 20 Mar. 1932, sec. 3, p. 2, col. 6. Disputes recent statement by Albert Bushnell Hart that Washington was the most voluminous writer of his day and the most effective writer of his time.
463. Corey, Horace W. Letter to the Editor. 5 June 1932, sec. 2, p. 2, col. 5. Notes that "many admirers . . . are forming a Thomas Paine society."
464. Letter to the Editor. 12 June 1932, sec. 2, p. 2, col. 4. Short letter by a Paine admirer.
465. Roper, R. C. Letter to the Editor. 17 Sept. 1934, p. 16, col. 5. "The constitution which Paine first urged and the principles which he first defended, have thus far kept us free from a Mussolini, a Stalin and a Hitler."

466. Newcomb, Josiah T. Letter to the Editor. 6 Oct. 1934, p. 14, col. 5. Argues that Paine had no more to do with "the form and substance of the Constitution of the United States as finally prepared by the Convention and ratified by the states . . . than the Emperor of Siam."
467. Roper, R. C. Letter to the Editor. 18 Nov. 1934, sec. 4, p. 5, col. 7. Paine, not Adams, paved the way for complete independence.
468. Schiavo, Giovanni. Letter to the Editor. 2 Dec. 1934, sec. 4, p. 5, col. 7. Philip Mazzei, an Italian physician who had settled in America, preceded Paine by about two years in urging complete independence from Great Britain.
469. Roper, R. C. Letter to the Editor. 1 Dec. 1935, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 1. Italy, with other nations, 125 years ago enforced an economic boycott against England, using as an instrument Paine's Maritime Compact.
470. Lewis, Joseph. Letter to the Editor. 2 Mar. 1936, p. 16, col. 6. Quotes excerpt from Agrarian Justice on old-age pension proposals.
471. _____. Letter to the Editor. 25 Mar. 1936, p. 20, col. 7. Points out that proposed issuance of memorial stamps for American war heroes did not include Paine.
472. "Paine Statue Planned." 22 May 1936, p. 21, col. 4. "A statue of Paine by Gutzon Borglum will be unveiled in Paris as part of a world-wide celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of the noted patriot and humanitarian. . . ."
473. Lewis, Joseph. Letter to the Editor. 23 May 1936, p. 14, col. 6. Calls attention to fact that the Metropolitan Museum of Art's special exhibit of Frankliniana has nothing on display that is representative of "Franklin's friend, confidant, and companion--Thomas Paine."
474. _____. Letter to the Editor. 14 June 1936, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 4. Quotes Paine's letter to Danton on matter of inflation.
475. "Statue of Paine to be Erected in Paris." 27 Dec. 1936, sec. 2, p. 3, col. 2. Illustration.
476. "Sails With Bust of Paine." 6 Jan. 1937, p. 21, col. 3. Joseph Lewis sails for France, carrying a bust of Paine to be presented to the French government.

477. Duffus, R. L. "The Firebrand of Our Revolution." 24 Jan. 1937, sec. 8, p. 10, col. 1. A feature article on the 200th anniversary of Paine's birth.
478. "Paine Ceremony Delayed." 31 Jan. 1937, sec. 2, p. 6, col. 7. Announcement that unveiling ceremonies of the Borglum statue in Paris postponed until April.
479. "A Statue of Paine." 7 Mar. 1937, sec. 12, p. 5, col. 1. 1. A description of the Borglum statue.
480. "Paine Exhibit Opened." 18 Apr. 1937, p. 26, col. 2. Announces opening of a Paine exhibition at the New York Public Library.
481. Eilenberg, Arthur. Letter to the Editor. 18 July 1937, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 7. Suggests commemoration of Paine by issuance of a postage stamp.
482. "Exhibit Will Sketch Thomas Paine's Life." 12 Dec. 1937, p. 37, col. 3. Announcement of opening of a public exhibition of about a thousand Paine items by Richard Gimbel in Philadelphia.
483. "In the Realm of Stamps." 20 Mar. 1938, sec. 12, p. 10, col. 5. Paine pictured on Polish stamp commemorating the American Constitution.
484. Lewis, Joseph. Letter to the Editor. 7 Jan. 1940, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 7. Quotes from Paine on subject of long tenure in office.
485. Levy, Irving. Letter to the Editor. 28 Jan. 1940, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 7. Urges that Paine's New Rochelle home be made into a national shrine.
486. "Pastor off Today to Direct Relief." 15 June 1940, p. 8, col. 4. Paine Bi-Centennial Committee begins drive to raise money to purchase an ambulance to send to France.
487. Levy, Irving. Letter to the Editor. 26 Jan. 1941, sec. 4, p. 9, col. 7. Calls for issuance of a Paine commemorative stamp.
488. Cohen, Caryl E. Letter to the Editor. 20 Aug. 1941, p. 18, col. 6. Quotes from Rights of Man.
489. Lewis, Joseph. Letter to the Editor. 15 Sept. 1941, p. 16, col. 7. Suggests the proposed "Democracy Day" be held on Paine's birthday.

490. Georgette, Jeanne. Letter to the Editor. 21 Sept. 1941, sec. 4, p. 7, col. 7. Relates a Paris bookseller's claim that the best-selling English books were Paine's, "most of which he said were bought by French people."
491. "Pres. Roosevelt's Address to Nation on America's Progress in the War." 24 Feb. 1942, p. 4, col. 7. The President concludes the address with a quotation from Crisis letter.
492. Brooks, Philip. "Notes on Rare Books." New York Times Book Review, 17 May 1942, p. 18, col. 3. Calls publication of the Clements Library Selections from the American Crisis "a timely contribution to public morale."
493. "Bar Statue of Tom Paine." 12 June 1942, p. 19, col. 7. The Fairmount Park Commission refused permission for a statue to be erected on the grounds that "his writings indicated that he was an atheist."
494. Dietrick, Janet. Letter to the Editor. 6 June 1943, sec. 7, p. 2, col. 2. Criticizes Fast's portrayal of Paine in his novel. "Is it not time to curb the license we have given historical fictionists?"
495. "Signer's Journal is Sold for \$7,000." 14 Oct. 1943, p. 22, col. 3. Recounts purchase by Rosenback Company of letter from Paine to Benjamin Rush. Letter brought \$620.
496. "Plaque to Thomas Paine Is Unveiled in Britain." 22 Oct. 1943, p. 4, col. 6. Recounts unveiling of plaque to Paine's memory presented by an American Air Force Group.
497. "Americana Installed." 22 May 1944, p. 17, col. 1. Collection of Otto Hufeland presented to Huguenot and Historical Association and housed in Paine house.
498. Editorial. 6 June 1945, p. 10, col. 3. Subject is restoration of Paine's citizenship rights by New Rochelle. "Now it is possible to forget his small weaknesses and to remember his great virtues and services."
499. "Paine, Barred from Voting 139 Years Ago, Has Citizenship 'Restored' by New Rochelle." 5 July 1945, p. 4, col. 3.
500. Ulmann, Albert. Letter to the Editor. 12 July 1945, p. 10, col. 6. Commends New Rochelle for doing "posthumous justice" to Paine by restoring his citizenship rights.
501. Anspacher, Louis K. Letter to the Editor. 27 Aug. 1945, p. 18, col. 5. Urges consideration of Paine for membership in Hall of Fame.

502. Von Opel, Fritz. Letter to the Editor. 10 Oct. 1946, p. 26, col. 7. Quotes from letter to Danton on the matter of price control.
503. "France Honors Thomas Paine." 3 Feb. 1948, p. 28, col. 5. Gutzon Borglum statue of Paine unveiled in Paris. Picture.
504. "Paine Letter Brings \$575." 2 Mar. 1949, p. 30, col. 5. Ten-page letter to Kitty Few at her marriage.
505. "Model of Statue of Paine on View." 26 June 1949, p. 44, col. 1. Detailed description of statue to be erected at Morristown.
506. "Dinner Marks Paine Birthday." 30 Jan. 1950, p. 3, col. 4. The Secular Society of New York celebrates with a dinner the 213th anniversary of Paine's birth.
507. "Thomas Paine Statue Inspected by Memorial Committee Founder." 20 May 1950, p. 17, col. 6. Illustration of statue of Paine to be erected in Morristown, New Jersey.
508. "Pres. Truman Endorses Unveiling." 30 May 1950, p. 2, col. 3.
509. Auslander, Joseph. "Freedom's Trumpeter." New York Times Magazine, 2 July 1950, p. 29. A poem written for the unveiling of the Morristown statue.
510. "Paine Statue Unveiled." 5 July 1950, p. 29, col. 4. Joseph Lewis delivers dedication speech at ceremony attended by 5,000.
511. "Text of General Bradley's Address at Freedom Award." 23 Feb. 1951, p. 11, cols. 2-5. Presentation of Freedoms Foundation awards. Calls Paine a famous American.
512. "Paine Farmers Sought." 30 Jan. 1952, p. 27, col. 2. Opening of campaign to enlist the 375 families living on what was once the Paine farm as members of a clan who would contribute to a fund for buying a bronze bust for Hall of Fame.
513. "Paine Clan Seeks Fund in His Honor." 13 Feb. 1952, p. 31, col. 1. Recounts further the efforts of Paine's home community to raise funds for the \$10,000 bust.
514. "Paine Essay Winner Chosen." 29 Feb. 1952, p. 25, col. 2.
515. "2 Busts Ordered by Hall of Fame." 6 Apr. 1952, p. 63, col. 3. Bust of Paine ordered.

516. "Plaque Honors Paine as Army Publicist." 16 May 1952, p. 25, col. 4. Armed Forces Information School presents plaque for old Paine homestead. It reads: "In grateful memory of Thomas Paine, whose example in rallying the country and its military forces in support of the cause of freedom during the Revolutionary War has been the inspiration for information and education in the armed forces of the United States."
517. "N. Y. U. Unveils Busts of 2 for Hall of Fame." 19 May 1952, p. 15, col. 1.
518. "Memorial Plates on Way." 26 July 1952, p. 15, col. 1. New Rochelle city historian carries inscribed silver plate to England to present to Thetford.
519. "Student Wins \$100 Bond." 29 Jan. 1954, p. 22, col. 1. Essay contest winner chosen.
520. "Thomas Paine is Still too Controversial, so Providence Doesn't Want Statue of Him." 23 Sept. 1955, p. 27, col. 6.
521. "Rejection of Tom Paine Statue Inflames Civil Liberties Union." 24 Sept. 1955, p. 21, col. 4.
522. "Mayor Backs Action on Paine Memorial." 25 Sept. 1955, p. 49, col. 1. Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, explains that by word "controversial" he referred not to Paine's person, character, or philosophy, but to the varying opinions of him held by others.
523. "Providence Rejects Paine Statue, Park." 7 Oct. 1955, p. 27, col. 6. Mayor rejects revised offer of not only the statue but also a site.
524. "Paine's Champion Scores Jefferson." 16 Dec. 1955, p. 23, col. 3. Joseph Lewis appeals to Department of Justice to file suit to claim Adams draft of Declaration of Independence for the National Archives or the Library of Congress.
525. "D. A. R. Wreath Laid for Paine." 30 Jan. 1956, p. 20, col. 8.
526. "Jefferson Letter Clue to Portrait." 6 May 1956, p. 124, col. 1. A batch of old letters under study by a historian furnish clue leading to identification of a portrait miniature of Paine painted for Jefferson by John Trumbell.
527. Parke, Richard H. "Rare Pamphlet by Paine Found." 28 Oct. 1956, p. 66, col. 3. Richard Gimbel, Yale University Library Curator, discovers a 1793 edition of The Age of Reason, a year earlier than previously known copies.

528. "Javits Rules for Foundation." 11 Jan. 1957, p. 46, col. 4.
Attorney General Jacob Javits rules that Thomas Paine Foundation is a patriotic organization and not required to register with the New York Social Welfare Department.
529. Morris, Richard B. "Zealot for Right." New York Times Magazine. 7 June 1959, p. 19, col. 1. Biographical sketch.
530. Thomas, Norman. "Great Challenge of the Dissenter." New York Times Magazine, 15 Nov. 1959, pp. 24, 54, 59, 62, 64. Cites Paine in article which argues for toleration of dissent.
531. "Writings of Paine Exhibited at Yale." 26 Nov. 1959, p. 34, col. 7. Exhibit commemorates 150th anniversary of Paine's death.
532. Otis, William Bradley. Letter to the Editor. 12 Mar. 1961, pp. 16, 39. Calls for inclusion of Paine among R. B. Morris' selected "Seven Who Set Our Destiny."
533. Burke, John P. Letter to the Editor. New York Times Magazine. 26 Mar. 1961, p. 92. Praises Paine as Franklin's friend and admirer.
534. Editorial. 7 Jan. 1962, p. 10, col. 3. Recalls Paine's journalistic efforts during Revolution.
535. Atkinson, Brooks. "Critic at Large." 26 Jan. 1962, p. 28, col. 1. A biographical article on the occasion of Paine's 225th birth anniversary.
536. "Thomas Paine Statue for London." New York Times Book Review, 29 Sept. 1963, p. 39. A full-page ad asking for contributions for erection of a statue in Thetford in 1964.
537. Farnsworth, Clyde H. "Paine is Honored by British Town." 8 June 1964, p. 7, col. 1. Thetford celebrates 227th anniversary of Paine's birth by unveiling statue situated near birthplace.
538. "Advocate of Thomas Paine Walks Out at Stamp Rites." 31 Jan. 1968, p. 38, col. 4. Joseph Lewis walks out of ceremonies marking issuance of a Paine postage stamp after objecting to the reading of an invocation and benediction and the singing of the National Anthem.
539. Barnes, Clive. "Tom Paine, Nonconformist." 26 Mar. 1968, p. 38, col. 1. Review of play Tom Paine, by Paul Foster.
540. _____. "'Tom Paine' in Middle West." 30 Mar. 1969, p. 71, col. 2. Review of a Chicago production of Foster's play.

541. Haney, Thomas V. "American Heritage To Be Emphasized." 15 Mar. 1970, sec. 2, p. 39, col. 2. Announces striking of a medal honoring Paine for the Hall of Fame for Great Americans series.

Literary Histories, Anthologies, and
Reference Works

542. Benét, William Rose, and Norman Holmes Pearson. The Oxford Anthology of American Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. I, 190-98. Reprints Part III of Common Sense.
543. Blair, Walter, et al., eds. The Literature of the United States: An Anthology and a History. 2 vols. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1946. I, 326-53, 408-15. Reprints excerpts from Crisis, No. 1, The Age of Reason, Common Sense.
544. Blankenship, Russell. American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind. New York: Henry Holt, 1931. pp. 151-53, 181-85. A favorable treatment which calls Paine "our most effective pamphleteer, worthy of the unalloyed admiration of all Americans of all times without regard to creed or party."
545. Boynton, Percy H. Literature and American Life. Boston: Ginn, 1936. pp. 144-47, 153-56. This literary history accords Paine favorable treatment. Sees his previously low reputation as symptomatic of the critical bias of his assailants and his defenders.
546. Bradley, Sculley, et al., eds. The American Tradition in Literature. 2 vols. New York: Norton, 1956. I, 229-60. Reprints excerpts from Common Sense, The Age of Reason, all of Crisis, No. 1.
547. Burton, Richard. Literary Leaders of America: A Class-Book on American Literature. New York: Scribner's, 1904. p. 6. Paine's religious position today is "that of a liberal rather than what we would now call a radical."
548. Cady, Edwin H., ed. Literature of the Early Republic. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1950. pp. 19-56. Reprints selections from Crisis, No. 1, Rights of Man, credo from The Age of Reason.
549. _____, et al., eds. The Growth of American Literature: A Critical and Historical Survey. 2 vols. New York: American Book, 1956. I, 162-76. Reprints excerpts from Crisis, No. 1. Rights of Man, and credo from The Age of Reason.

550. Cairns, William B. A History of American Literature. Rev. ed. 1930; rpt. New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1969. pp. 114-16. This prominent scholar's revised edition of his 1912 study made no change in a slightly denigrative account of Paine.
551. Canby, Henry Seidel. Classic Americans: A Study of Eminent American Writers from Irving to Whitman. New York: Harcourt, 1931. pp. 51, 55. Opening chapter, "The Colonial Background," notes Paine as one of the few political writers whose prose rise into literature.
552. Dictionary of American Biography. Ed. Dumas Malone. New York: Scribner's, 1928-1937. VII, 159-66. Well-written biographical account which emphasizes influence of Quakerism and dismisses most of the discrediting tales about Paine's last years. Presents Paine throughout as a revolutionary by temperament whose life was "an unheroic sequence of purely literary struggles."
553. Ellis, Milton, et al., eds. A College Book of American Literature. New York: American Book, 1939. I, 283-96. Reprints portions of Crisis, No. 1, Common Sense, and The Age of Reason.
554. _____. A College Book of American Literature: Briefer Course. 2nd ed. New York: American Book, 1945. pp. 77-84. Reprints excerpts from Crisis, No. 1, Common Sense.
555. Foerster, Norman, ed. American Poetry and Prose. Rev. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934. pp. 170-92. Brief headnote characterizes Paine as a man always in search of a revolution. Reprints excerpts from Crisis, No. 1, The Age of Reason.
556. Halleck, Reuben Post. History of American Literature. New York: American Book, 1911. pp. 67-68. "He is unfortunately more remembered for his skeptical Age of Reason than for his splendid services to the cause of liberty."
557. Hart, James D. The Oxford Companion to American Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. pp. 560-61. A ready reference work which concisely and objectively summarizes Paine's career. Subsequent editions do not revise this entry.
558. Hintz, Howard W. The Quaker Influence in American Literature. 1940; rpt. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965. pp. 17-25. Concludes that Paine's "activities and writings bear evidence throughout of the strength of the Quaker influence."

559. Hubbell, Jay B., ed. American Life in Literature. 2 vols. in 1. New York and London: Harper, 1936, I, 116-25, 150; II, 548. Introductory headnote shows influence of Bradford in presenting Paine as an outlaw, or rebel, who incurred the hostility of one government after another. Selections include excerpts from Common Sense and The Age of Reason.
560. Jones, Howard Mumford, and Ernest E. Leisy, eds. Major American Writers. Rev. and enl. ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945. pp. 121-51. Reprints excerpts from Common Sense, The Age of Reason, all of first Crisis.
561. Lewisohn, Ludwig. Expression in America. New York and London: Harper, 1932. pp. 29-32. Trying to delineate the American spirit as expressed in its literature at different periods, the author concludes that "Paine came nearer that transmutation of experience into expression than anyone else writing in America in his day, except Franklin."
562. Long, William J. American Literature: A Study of the Men and the Books that in the Earlier and Later Times Reflect the American Spirit. Boston: Ginn, 1913. pp. 247-51. Regards Paine as a somewhat offensive man while recognizing his services in the cause of American independence.
563. Metcalf, John Calvin. American Literature. Richmond, Va.: Johnson, 1914. pp. 85-87. Brief summary of Paine's career in America, emphasizing the offensive nature of The Age of Reason.
564. Newcomer, Alphonso Gerald. American Literature. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1901. pp. 41-42. Unfavorable comparison of Paine and Jefferson.
565. _____, et al., Three Centuries of American Poetry and Prose. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1917. p. 156. Reprints excerpt from Common Sense.
566. Pace, Roy Bennett. American Literature. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1915. pp. 45-47. Considers only the Revolutionary pamphlets.
567. Parrington, Vernon Louis. Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920. 3 vols. in 1. New York: Harcourt, 1927. I, 71-73, 125-26, 130, 132, 136; II, 11-12, 88, 342; III, 73, 130, 132. A landmark study which stresses the influence of the French physiocrats on Paine's economic and political philosophy. Principal treatment found in vol. I, The Colonial Mind.

568. Pattee, Fred Lewis. The First Century of American Literature. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935. pp. 20-24. A literary history which emphasizes Paine's role as a propagandist without peer who came at the one time in all history when he could have been a moving force.
569. Payne, Leonidas Warren, Jr. History of American Literature. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1919. pp. 60-63. This student handbook considers Paine as one of the most influential and best of the essayists and journalists of the early period.
570. Perry, Bliss. The American Spirit in Literature. Vol. 34 of The Chronicles of America Series. Ed. Allen Johnson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920. pp. 74-76.
571. Prescott, Frederick C., and John H. Nelson, eds. Prose and Poetry of the Revolution. New York: Crowell, 1925. pp. 67-82. Emphasis on Paine's journalistic and propagandistic flairs. Regards his style as revolutionary. Reprints excerpts from Common Sense and Crisis.
572. Quinn, Arthur Hobson. The Literature of the American People: An Historical and Critical Survey. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951. pp. 151-55. "The influence of his writings was widespread, and enduring largely because he was an artist, the master of a genre."
573. Richardson, William L., and Jesse M. Owen, eds. Literature of the World: An Introductory Survey. Boston: Ginn, 1922, p. 474. Gives only a few sentences to Paine.
574. Sears, Lorenzo. American Literature in the Colonial and National Periods. Boston: Little, Brown, 1902. pp. 128-32. Favorable estimation of the Revolutionary writings.
575. Spiller, Robert E., ed. The Roots of National Culture: American Literature to 1830. New York: Macmillan, 1933. pp. 245-64, 711. Reprints excerpts from Common Sense, Crisis, credo from The Age of Reason.
576. _____, et al., eds. Literary History of the United States. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1948. I, 137-41. Sets forth the idea that Paine's thoughts were not original or profound but that the strength of his appeal lay in his masterful use of rhetoric.
577. Taylor, Walter Fuller. A History of American Letters. Boston: American Book, 1936. pp. 49-53. Follows lead of Bradford in seeing Paine as an idealist who must tear down barricades of the past in order to establish a harmonious democratic society. Comments on Paine's literary method.

578. _____. The Story of American Letters. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1956. pp. 45-48. "No dispassionate account can fail to recognize that Paine, along with Franklin and Jefferson, was one of the principal thinkers of the American Enlightenment, and that his services to the colonial cause were invaluable."
579. Thorndike, Ashley H. The Outlook for Literature. New York: Macmillan, 1931. p. 175. Mention of Paine.
580. Trent, William Peterfield, et al., eds. The Cambridge History of American Literature. 3 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1917-1921. I, 77, 123, 140-141, 144-45. Though it refers to Paine as a "hack-writer" and a "firebrand," this standard work makes the usual comments about his wartime pamphlets.
581. Van Doren, Carl. "Thomas Paine." American Writers on American Literature. Ed. John Macy. New York: Tudor, 1934. pp. 25-35. While he largely rearranges the Introduction of his Selections for this essay, Van Doren keeps pace with the temper of the 1930's by noting Paine's appeal as a revolutionary whose "books have become textbooks of radical thought for the English-speaking populace."
582. _____, ed. The Patriotic Anthology. New York: Literary Guild, 1941. pp. 71-73. Reprints excerpts from two Crisis numbers.
583. Violette, A. G. Economic Feminism in American Literature Prior to 1848. University of Maine Studies, 2nd Series, No. 2. 1925. Develops thesis that Paine's "Occasional Letter on the Female Sex" is important as the first published plea for equal suffrage in America.
584. Wager, Willis. American Literature: A World View. New York: University Press, 1968. pp. 40-41. "As a writer, Paine was to Franklin much as, in the next generation, Thoreau was to Emerson--more brilliant, more uncompromising, but not quite so richly endowed with common sense."

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